The
# FORUM

For July, 1918

## A FOURTH OF JULY MESSAGE

By Hon. NEWTON D. BAKER
SECRETARY OF WAR

IT is with a peculiar sense of pride and appreciation that the Nation consecrates the one-hundred and forty-second anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Our armies are fighting overseas to sustain the principles of liberty and happiness which have been our heritage, in behalf of the peoples of the world. The blood of the brave, the tears of the loving, the treasure

of the land are not too high a price to pay for a world-wide application of the self-evident truths expressed in the immortal document of the Congress of 1776. An insolent military autocracy seeks to inflict its misrule upon the world in ruthless and heartless disregard of every element of human right and every principle of civilized progress. But free men are not daunted by the sword of a tyrannical king, powerful though it may be. Free men know that military despotism shall not prevail, that its temporary successes but mask its own certain destruction and that in the final test the audacious pretensions of the Prussian military caste shall be rendered impotent by the stern honesty of purpose and the valor of plain people who are moved by the spirit of obvious right.

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# PUTTING MASSACHUSETTS IN THE WAR

By HON. SAMUEL W. McCALL
(GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS)

*In a stirring recital of his vigorous and efficient activities, the Governor of the great State of Massachusetts, tells for the first time of his patriotic work as War Governor, and the cooperation of the citizens of his State.*

IN the grievous and tragic crisis of this terrific world war, it becomes the duty and the privilege of an Executive, from time to time, to report upon the exercise of his official responsibility; not merely to present in cold accuracy a list of official obligations fulfilled, but to make a closer, a warmer declaration of his relationship to the will of the people. Such a crisis has not menaced our National Government for fifty-two years. During that time we have not had a real war. It is not surprising that during these fifty-two years of prosperous peace (with the exception of our episode with Spain) that the National Government has not kept itself in fighting condition, has not prepared for a real war. While not believing in war, yet having the war thrust upon us, I felt that it was our plain duty to prepare to the utmost and wage the war vigorously.

The knowledge which my long service in Congress gave me of just how the principles and policies of military and naval preparedness stood in Washington, added to those anxieties we all felt which preceded the present amazing success of our war energies.

There was a " twilight zone," between the sunset of our neutrality and the treacherous darkness of German " diplomacy " that hung over us till von Bernstorff and his aids were shipped away. Until the sunrise burst gloriously over us in our declaration of war with Germany, clearing the skies

to the furthermost horizon of our National ideals, the "twilight zone" was a period, to some degree, of indistinct vision.

At my request a report was made by the Executive Committee of the Committee on Public Safety of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in March of last year, which clearly showed there was sufficient cause for anxiety. Our navy was short twenty-five thousand men of the number required to man our ships. Our complete sea strength was only two-thirds of the sea strength of Germany. Our regular army was many thousands of men short of its authorized strength. Most of us had recognized that the prevailing feature of this war, as compared with previous wars, had developed the machine gun, the heavy field artillery and the bomb to a degree beyond previous imagination. Upon investigation we found that we possessed so few bombs that we might just as well have none.

At this moment of our twilight vision we had a few machine guns of a useless type, and the small number of two hundred and fifty machine guns neither designed nor made by our War Department, but made for the English Government, and obtained by us from England as a great favor. It was appalling to realize that we did not have a single heavy field gun made, or under construction, or even designed by our own War Department, within the boundaries of the United States. These were things that made those of us who were looking forward, scarcely finding time in our purpose to look backward, confident early in 1917 that we must prepare for war.

### CONGRESS LEFT THE NATION DEFENSELESS

IN view of our ideals of peaceful democracy; in view of the fact that we were a people without hatreds and without external ambitions; it was not surprising that we were not ready for war. When the National Congress adjourned, at this time, it expired without making, so far as any war measures were concerned, the appropriations necessary to enable the country even to begin its war work. And this,

notwithstanding the fact that weeks before the adjournment of Congress we were so near an actual war with a great military power, that the declaration might have come any hour, any day, any week.

In my own State, it was surmised, after the adjournment of Congress in 1917, that the eventuality of war did not depend upon whether Congress reassembled in special session to declare war, because we felt that it might be started against us by our present enemy. In the State of Massachusetts, as in other New England States, we were in a mood to get ready. We had reached the conclusion through our observation of the deficiencies in the military machine of the National Government.

If there exists a people, in this great land of Liberty, that are more keenly alert to the defense of that instinct, I think it is the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The history of this State bristles with definite historical events, with the names of such heroes as Paul Revere, John Parker, Joseph Warren and others, and with such acts as have glorified, not merely war, but the spirit of war in defense of high ideals.

It was impossible to mistake the temper and the will of the people of this State during this twilight period of our neutrality. It was therefore merely a natural outlet inspired by the will of the people themselves that impelled me to appoint, on February 9, 1917, the Massachusetts Committee on Public Safety. It was an act of preparation, a forecast of the war certainty which had established itself throughout the State in the minds of the people; it was an obvious plan to assist the Executive in marshaling the resources of the Commonwealth in a war emergency that was fully expected.

### PUTTING THE STATE BEHIND THE PRESIDENT

THIS Committee, composed of a hundred men, representing the wealth, the energy, the professional genius of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts were united by their own principles of devotion to the great cause which the President of the United States had interpreted, though

in terms of neutrality. It is inspiring to record that the people of this State, and perhaps one may say unquestionably in other New England States, were of the same mind as the President in the National motives that eventually led to our declaration of war. In the appointment of this Committee it was agreed that the scope of its authority and investigation existed on the theory that our National Government was not ready, and that therefore we must help to get ready—and above all—that Massachusetts, as in the time of Governor Andrew, proposed to uphold the plans of our National Government in every way in her power. By virtue of the assistance which this Committee supplied, it became evident that its organization had correctly expressed the will of the people of the State.

### THE NEW ENGLAND GOVERNORS CONFER WITH MAJ.-GEN. WOOD

IT was unanimously evident that Massachusetts realized that in February, 1917, we had passed the indecisions of sentiment, that we had arrived at a concrete and definite state of mind concerning what we should do to defend our ideals. In some measure, therefore, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts can enjoy the credit by virtue of this Committee on Public Safety, of leading a decisive war spirit, before our own declaration of war.

Naturally, it was our purpose to strive by every means in our power to anticipate every possible demand either the National Government, or the stress of the times, might make upon us. On February 14, 1917, an Executive Committee of the Committee on Public Safety was duly appointed by me, and the numerous elements of war work took shape in various organization activities. The details by which our purposes have been carried out by the Massachusetts Committee on Public Safety are matters of record, and of a character and devotion that the State may well be proud of. Sub-committees were organized, other Public Safety Committees were appointed in each city and town of the Commonwealth, so that before the National crisis had been actually met by

the Federal Government, the entire resources of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts were thoroughly marshaled. I believe that the success of this organization brought about similar plans in a large number of the other states in the Union.

As we in looking around began to gather a large quantity of accurate information concerning our military and naval defences, it became evident that in point of strategical requirement, in case of sudden attack from an enemy, the entire coast line of New England made a vulnerable corner of the United States. The two great harbors of our Atlantic coast were New York City and Boston. From near New York to the furthermost land point on the coast of Maine, the territory is New England. It seemed obvious that the interests of the people of the six New England states, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Vermont, Maine and Massachusetts, were so inter-bound that an official agreement of mutual advantage would bring about the greatest service in support of the National Government.

With this object in view I issued an invitation to the other Governors of the New England states to meet with me at the State House in Boston on March 13th, 1917. This was an Executive session, held in the historic Bulfinch Council Chamber at the State House, and was the birthday of an organization for mutual defence and cooperation that marks the beginning of a united legislative principle on the part of the whole of New England.

At this conference the Governors of the various States briefly explained the methods which they believed should be adopted for moulding the patriotic character of their people into war shape. The chief, momentary advantage of this conference was the opportunity it gave us to know, not only the dangers from attack to which the New England coast line might be exposed, but also to receive some valuable information from Major-General Leonard Wood, whose assistance I requested in explaining to us the necessities of military efficiency in New England.

Major-General Wood very frankly conveyed to us our

shortcomings, our needs, and especially visualized for us the need of cooperative effort for which this meeting actually occurred. One of the Governors who had attended a meeting in New York, at which the National Government had been called to account for its lack of preparedness, in a resolution which had been drafted by Elihu Root, Ex-President Roosevelt, and others, suggested that this resolution be adopted by the Governors of New England. General Wood also recommended that this resolution be signed by the Governors.

It was generally admitted that any resolution drafted by these two distinguished American leaders ought to be strong enough for the people. One of the Governors from New England suggested that it might be too strong. This resolution was subsequently recast.

The objects of the Massachusetts Committee on Public Safety were revealed to the Governors of New England at this conference, and the fact that the organization plans were based upon the English war measure, of giving the people the volunteer service of men of large calibre, seemed entirely acceptable, and useful.

As it developed that the six New England states, in their military war strength, would represent one army unit or division, it was suggested that a single committee representing the six New England states be inaugurated. Admitting that no army officer had, at this time, been charged with preparing this army unit of New England, the Committee idea resolved itself into the hope that the Government would make military preparations along these lines.

It was also agreed that we needed more definite cooperation, by mutual effort, of the New England states. At the end of this conference, it was my impression that if we took the substance of the ideas brought out at this conference and embodied them in a resolution which should present those essential things that would be of help to the National Government, they might have some moral pressure in Washington. It was my belief that they would have considerable effect in Washington. Therefore, in accord with this deci-

sion, the following resolution was signed in the State House, in Boston, March 13th, 1917:

NEW ENGLAND GOVERNORS' CONCERTED ACTION

WE, the undersigned Governors of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, hereby pledge our support and the support of our respective States to the President of the United States in carrying out his announced policy to protect American lives and property upon the high seas.

To the end that this may be effectively accomplished and that we may be able to defend American ships and American rights and the honor and integrity of our country, we urge upon the National Government the supreme importance of recruiting the army and navy to a war footing and of the immediate manufacture of ample military supplies and equipment and their speedy distribution among the depots in the various States, so that in case of need they may be instantly available.

It is our profound conviction that the practical preparation which is necessary to enable even our present small army and navy to fight, should be prosecuted with all possible vigor.

We urge upon our National Government the necessity of making forthwith the most energetic preparation for national defense upon land and sea.

(Signed) CARL E. MILLIKEN (Maine)
" HENRY W. KEYES (New Hampshire)
" HORACE F. GRAHAM (Vermont)
" SAMUEL W. MCCALL (Massachusetts)
" R. LIVINGSTON BEECKMAN (Rhode Island)
" MARCUS H. HOLCOMB (Connecticut)

Although the terms of this resolution were indefinite as to detail, they represented a protest, or shall I say an urgent request, which represented a very large percentage of the entire population of the United States. It is interesting to record that from the time of this conference of the Governors of New England in the State House in Boston, New England has acted as a unit in all war measures. The Governors of

the New England States have been in constant telegraphic communication, and have made a great many suggestions and requests in common for the Federal Government. The outcome of this meeting in Boston has been that several other meetings have taken place in Washington with the Federal authorities and many war activities have been made easier by this accord of the New England States in defense measures.

It was this conference that made it possible for New England to send across the water the sawmill unit, the first of its kind to be sent over to assist our allies. During the shortage of fuel last winter, a second conference of the Governors of New England was held in the Senate Chamber at the State House in Boston on October 18, 1917, in order to secure if possible more effective action for larger fuel supplies in New England. As a demonstration of war efficiency this legislative agreement between States adjoining one another has been adopted in other parts of the country where similar mutuality of interests made it effective.

### QUICK ACTION BY THE LEGISLATURE

THE foresight of the American people, some time before our relations with Germany were broken off, and between that period and the date of our declaration of war, had taken some very positive shape by official recognition. Massachusetts, however, I believe, was the first State to foresee that the best service it could render the ultimate demands of the National Government upon the resources of the United States was to be prepared in man power and in money.

It was obvious that to have the soldiers of Massachusetts in the best possible condition to meet the demands of the Federal Government, was to see that they were equipped and trained. By a special message to the Legislature I suggested an appropriation of a million dollars properly to equip the Massachusetts troops.

It is of interest to record that the Legislature was so anxious to do its part that there was laid upon my desk that day, March 19, 1917, an act for my approval. I immediately

signed it and so far as I know it was the quickest time in which a law had been placed upon our Statute Books, it having taken less than a day to go through the various legislative stages and receive executive approval.

It was clear that the National Government, drained of equipment and army needs by the service of the soldiers on the Mexican Border, would not be prepared to supply the State troops. That, it seemed to me, was a war measure that concerned the will and military pride of the people of the State. By this appropriation of one million dollars, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in substance, placed at the disposal of the National Government the amount of seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars to be expended for contracts to equip our soldiers. In this way the Commonwealth of Massachusetts gave the National Government a credit account, which speeded up the contracts for war equipment to the advantage of the Massachusetts troops. The bills were ultimately paid by the National Government, but the Commonwealth was prepared to pay, should the National Government be unable to.

We were thus enabled to send our State troops direct to the camps fully equipped. It was this foresight which enabled the Massachusetts troops, because of their prompt appearance at the muster camps, to be among the very first to go across the seas. They have since distinguished themselves for great personal bravery in France.

I have on my desk at the State House a testimonial of the war spirit of the men in Massachusetts.

### MASSACHUSETTS SOLDIER FIRES THE FIRST SHOT

IT is the shell of the first shot fired against Germany by American soldiers in the National Guard and probably by any American soldier, and was fired by a typical battery of the Massachusetts troops. We have over ninety-five thousand troops from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in the military or naval service now. Our population, which is three million eight hundred thousand, or more, represents one twenty-seventh of the entire population of the United States.

Add to these figures the entire population of the five other New England States, and the National Government may well be proud of the patriotic quality of this great number of Americans.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts began its war activities immediately upon the severance, on February 2, 1917, of diplomatic relations with Germany. From that time till the Declaration of War in April we were actually putting on our war paint in Massachusetts. So certain were we that war would be declared that I made a request of the Legislature to authorize a State Guard for home service during such time as the National Guard should be out of the State for Federal service. This was approved on April 5, 1917. It was a measure of war insurance which resulted not only as a means of protection to the State, but as a means of providing many trained men for the regular service.

The State Guard of Massachusetts numbers approximately eleven thousand men fully equipped and trained to meet any emergency or internal disorder which may arise. Under the direction of the Adjutant-General local military organizations were formed throughout the various cities and towns of the Commonwealth for the purpose of local protection in case of uprisings, and many of these local companies made application to become a part of the State Guard.

I appointed a board of men composed of former military officers to organize these companies into military units. Many of these Guard companies were uniformed, armed and equipped by money donated by the various residents of the different communities and there has been no lack of private subscription to these military funds. Temporary arrangements have been made by the Adjutant-General in all the armories in cases of emergency, and those officers of the National Guard who are not on service abroad are kept constantly on duty. The State Guard, during the severe weather of last winter, performed exceptionally difficult sentry duty for three weeks on the waterfront in East Boston and Charlestown. This duty was performed because of the request made upon me by the Federal authorities.

### HELPING THE SOLDIER AND HIS RELATIVES

THE pay allowed by the National Government to the soldiers of the National Guard was only fifteen dollars a month, scarcely more than the pay of the soldier fifty years ago. By an act passed in September, 1916, the Legislature granted a supplementary pay of ten dollars a month to each non-commissioned officer and soldier who had been called to do service on the Mexican border. It seemed to me, therefore, justifiable to recommend that a similar provision in favor of the non-commissioned officers and members of the National Guard should be made. This recommendation was based on the conclusion that the aggregate pay of the soldier should be twenty-five dollars a month, which he was to receive from the National and State Governments. Provision was recommended also for the support of dependent relatives of the men enlisted in the military service of the United States who were a part of the quota of the Commonwealth. Many men who were already in the Federal service, transferred from the National Guard, had dependent relatives. An act providing for the payment of ten dollars monthly in addition to Federal pay was approved on May 7, 1917, for the Massachusetts soldiers who volunteered, and a further act was passed appropriating a sum of money to pay the dependents of the soldiers an amount equal to forty dollars a month. Subsequently this amount was increased to fifty dollars a month.

On May 26, 1917, the Legislature approved the "Commonwealth Defense Act," which gave the Governor extraordinary powers during the period of war. It empowered the Executive to decide the number of hours of labor the people engaged in war work should do; it gave him authority to commandeer the necessaries of life; it authorized him to take over for the common good any of the industries of the Commonwealth. It was an act which placed in the Governor's hands entire authority over the resources of the Commonwealth when, in his judgment, such authority could be imposed for the better protection or welfare of the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. This authority has

not been used, but it stands as an evidence of the patriotism and the confidence of the people in their State Government.

An extraordinary emergency fund of one million dollars was appropriated by the Legislature by an act approved on May 25, 1917, and placed at the disposal of the Governor and the Council for emergency war expenditures during the summer recess of the Legislature. This was a measure to protect Massachusetts so that she would at all times be ready to contribute in full measure her resources to the National Government.

### SOME REMARKABLE WAR MEASURES

MANY other legislative acts designed to nurture the war record of the State were recommended and approved. Only those that revealed a certain tightening up of popular measures may be interesting. The legislation for many of them was recommended by an Executive message. It became unlawful in the Commonwealth to play, sing or render the Star Spangled Banner in any public place other than as a whole and separate composition or number, without embellishment or addition in the way of national or other music. It was forbidden to use the Star Spangled Banner, or any part thereof, as dance music or as an exit march or part of a medley. The Library Commissioners were authorized to expend from their annual appropriation a sum annually, during the period of the war, in supplying books for the use of the soldiers and sailors.

Legislation was passed and money appropriated to protect the health and morals of the soldiers and the sanitation of the camps. Special appropriations were made for expenses incident to the establishment of military camps, for the entertainment of visiting Foreign War Missions, and the penalties for misuse of the flag were created. At my request the licensed liquor dealers refrained from selling intoxicating liquors during the hours immediately preceding the departure of our drafted men to the military camps.

The enormous industrial and manufacturing interests of Massachusetts became a matter of concern to me because

of their large labor employment. Some slight differences of opinion as to the character of our war ideals when they were less distinct than they are now; the high cost of living; the need of speeding up the principles of patriotism among all the classes of wage-earners, presented to us the problem of adjusting the issues of labor strikes to our war basis.

I named a special committee to act with me in this emergency, and since the declaration of war more than a hundred disputes have been amicably settled. Among the important strikes was that of the Gloucester fishermen. In our necessary system for the conservation of food, this great fish industry of the United States was a serious step. The greatest contribution in fish food to the United States is supplied by the Gloucester fishermen. It was a strike which threatened the fish supply of the nation, and it was a happy ending when this great fleet of boats, which had been idly swinging at the wharves for many weeks, was turned busily out to sea. The strike of fifteen thousand Lynn shoe operatives that had paralyzed the City of Lynn for many months was amicably settled. Of course, in another direction, the most important strike, which threatened to tie up the railroads of the country, was the strike of the Boston & Albany and Boston & Maine Railroad employees, which was followed, when the Elevated Railway Company employees threatened to tie up the transportation of the large city of Boston.

### MAKING STRIKES UNPATRIOTIC

I WAS at dinner one night when a man came to me and told me that many thousand employees were holding a meeting with what seemed an absolute determination to call a strike. He asked me for a letter requesting a delay of seventy-two hours in their decision. I gave him this letter and he went before the strikers and read it to them:

> Gentlemen:
>
> I am advised that the time limit set for the strike upon the Boston Elevated Railway was too limited to admit of due negotiations, and I strongly urge you to have final action deferred and the strike postponed until

all legitimate effort may be exhausted to reach, if possible, a conclusion which will have results upon governmental and business activities which all patriotic citizens would wish to avert.

I write this as Governor of the Commonwealth, and with the profound hope that a thing so strongly at variance with her noble history in every war, from the Revolution to the present time, will not be permitted to occur.

Sincerely yours,

This was received at first with great hostility. The man who read the letter then challenged the character of this hostile demonstration. He declared that any man in the hall who dared to hiss the name of the Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts should come on the platform, and he added that he would fight it out with him on the ground that it was an unpatriotic expression. He stood literally with his back to the wall and finally obtained the delay requested. Subsequently I personally appeared before the employees, who were happy that the strike had been averted, congratulated them upon their cooperation towards an adjustment, and the storm blew over. In the latent causes behind these internal disturbances in labor we have been able to recognize certain justice in the demands for additional pay, because the high cost of living is a very evident fact. It is gratifying to find that when we have approached the wage earners with a patriotic appeal, backed up with substantial support, that no further strikes have occurred. There is no question that the basic force in the adjustment of these strikes has been the underlying patriotism of the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

I have considered it one of the important desires of the people to make the boys in the trenches and in the camps comfortable and happy. In creating the Massachusetts Soldiers' Information Bureau, the first agency of the kind to be established in the country, it was my desire to help the men in the service and their families and friends in a definite way. Its whole duty is to supply information about Massachusetts men in the army and navy service of the United

States, to facilitate communication between the soldiers abroad and their families and relatives at home, and also to establish a general information bureau for the use of Massachusetts men in war service abroad.

This Bureau acts entirely under the authority of the Governor and Council. Through the energy and generosity of a citizen of Massachusetts, headquarters have been established in Paris, where the men on leave can assemble for entertainment, can obtain relief, where complete information is on hand about the soldiers and where communication with their relatives at home is facilitated.

### THE COMMONWEALTH BEHIND THE GOVERNMENT

ALL patriotic measures have been fulfilled by the Commonwealth for the support of the National Government, and there is no part of our population, either of native birth or foreign extraction. who have failed to give themselves and their resources to the Government in its great hour of need. The women of the State have worked loyally along patriotic lines and have contributed in no small way to the success of our war measures. We have worked in harmony with the Government in Food and Fuel conservation, production and distribution. We were the first State to organize the school boys into an effective working force for the production of food during the summer vacation.

The active preliminary war measures which the Commonwealth had been making some time before the declaration of war were shown to be exceedingly expedient at the time of the Halifax disaster in December, 1917. Massachusetts was the first State, in fact, the first agency of any kind, to send relief to the stricken city. The information came to me first, vaguely, before it had reached the press. That afternoon I held a conference with many of the prominent men of the State, and a supply train was started for Halifax that night, equipped with doctors, nurses, medical supplies, beds, blankets and food. This train forced its way through a heavy snowstorm and reached the city in time to render first aid. There was a great need for oculists, as the chief result of the

gigantic explosion was injury to the eyes. At the first explosion the people rushed to the windows, and the second explosion shattered the glass and blew it into their eyes. We were fortunate in being prepared to meet this emergency. Large contributions of relief materials, ranging from money and clothing to glass and automobiles, were sent from this State to Halifax.

It was this experience which impelled us to appropriate a sum of money for the purpose of creating what is known as the Commonwealth Emergency Hospital, to which has been attached for emergency calls, in case of need, many surgeons and a hundred trained nurses. These nurses were appointed by me after having been selected by a committee of competent women from among the trained nurses of the State. The nurses have been attached to the Massachusetts State Guard and I have commissioned them as Second Lieutenants, to be paid only, however, when called for actual duty. These are the first military commissions given to any American women engaged in war service. The hospital has a capacity of 440 beds. This is a preventive measure and can eventually be used for other purposes connected with the war. Of course, exceptional efforts have been made to prepare our local hospitals and infirmaries for wounded soldiers returning from France.

While the elements of foresight and organization are in themselves important, the chief pride of the Commonwealth seems to be in its extraordinary unanimity of courage. Massachusetts is, and should be, tremendously inspired by the record of personal bravery which the Massachusetts troops have shown at the front. We are particularly proud of the fact that the Republic of France has decorated heroes of the 104th Infantry, National Guards, for distinguished bravery. This was known as the Old Second Regiment of Massachusetts. They were at the front before the Rainbow Division arrived in France. The Croix de Guerre has been given also to members of the 101st Engineers, National Guards, which was the First Corps Cadets of Massachusetts before they were inducted into the Federal service.

In the elements of organization, the State of Massachusetts can be proud of the fact that many of its prominent citizens have been called to service in Washington. So, the Commonwealth has not only contributed in men for Army and Navy service, but it has also contributed men in large measure for executive service with the National Government in Washington.

What Massachusetts has done is but a pledge of what she stands ready to do, for the call of National service has kindled the old spark of patriotism in her magnificent history into an unquenchable fire.

God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

# THE ARMY CHAPLAIN

By DANIEL M. HENDERSON

THESE sodden, slimy trenches are my pews;
This is my flock—rude, blood-bespattered men.
Some boys are here whom I once taught at home;
Far closer are we now than in those days.
Then I have other lads who say the church
Breeds superstition and hypocrisy.
Some swear and gamble—till I won their hearts
I heard them curse me for a "Holy Joe!"

Yet with what awe I minister to them—
As fine a breed as God put on earth!
Irreverent—true! But by their scoffs they mask
The altar fires aflame within their breasts!
I do not preach to them that bloodless Christ
Whom artists picture haunting No Man's Land—
Aloof and shuddering at the things He sees.
Instead, I tell them of that Man who met
With fearless heart yon despot's cross and sword,
And died, that through His death the soul might live.

They nod their heads; they understand this Christ. . . .
They take Him with them to their Calvary!

# LIBERTY OR DEATH FOR SERBIA

## Her Supreme International Patriotism

By HON. L. MICHAILOVITCH
[SERBIAN MINISTER TO THE U. S. A.]

*The Jugoslav "Declaration of Independence" is voiced by the Serbian Minister, in this spirited explanation of his country's international patriotism. That Austria-Hungary are arch criminals in the Teutonic Conspiracy to enslave the world is emphatically pointed out.*

THE love of freedom and democratic principles, on the one hand, and on the other the readiness to combat the enemies of these principles and to sacrifice everything out of love for them, are the foundations of international patriotism. The titanic struggle of today has divided the world into two groups, clearly separated one from the other. The first are the enemies of freedom and the partisans of brutal domination, at the head of which stands Germany. The second defends itself against these enemies and is under the leadership of the United States. The war on this free international community began with the attack on little Serbia, which took up the struggle with a full conscience of her duty as a member of this community.

This honor my country assumed and has sacrificed everything to it, including its freedom and independence. Yet Serbia represents only a part of the elements which are today described under the name of Jugoslavs (Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes), and although today the whole of our people are under the enemy yoke, they continue the struggle with every weapon which circumstances allow it to use. One should not forget that our direct enemies are Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria, two countries which are often regarded by American public opinion as the tools of Germany, but which, in our opinion, are greater international criminals than Germany herself. Austria-Hungary first began the

world-war, Bulgaria opened to Germany the route to the East. *Without the cooperation of Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria there would today be no world-war.* These two States are deliberately the accomplices of Germany and not merely her tools. The strength of our enemies lies in their complete solidarity in all branches of their action against the defenders of humanity—our Allies, who, in their struggle, have unfortunately not displayed a similar solidarity.

### SERBIA REFUSES TO COMPROMISE

ENCIRCLED by these enemies, our people carries on a continual struggle, not only for its existence, but also against the plan to annihilate freedom and the democratic principles of human society. The Jugoslavs might, perhaps, have accepted a compromise such as would have assured their existence, but their duty as a member of the international community did not permit them to accept any compromise in-regard to the principles of which the Germans, the Magyars, the Bulgarians, and the Turks are the exponents. I do not believe I exaggerate when I say that it is in a large part due to Serbia and the Jugoslavs that this combination of international criminals has had no success in their crime.

When, towards the end of 1915, Serbia was attacked from all sides by Germans, Magyars and Bulgarians, it was clear that she must be vanquished. But the enemies of Serbia knew that this struggle would cost them dear and sought to avoid it and offered her peace. At that moment Serbia was still in possession of her full military strength, and though the enemy offered her freedom, independence and tempting concessions, this offer was unanimously rejected by the whole Serbian people, which at that moment did not allow itself to be guided by selfish patriotism, but by her solidarity with her Allies. In rejecting this offer the Serbs deliberately accepted the full consequences, which were:

The abandonment of their country, which they knew the enemy would devastate;

The destruction by themselves of everything which could be of use to the enemy;

The enormous unavoidable losses which would result by retiring through Albania in order to prepare the army for a fresh struggle.

The Serbian Government and the Serbian Army decided to sacrifice everything for their honor and for their fidelity to their Allies.

In the midst of winter they had to cross savage Albania, where there were no routes and no resources of any kind. The whole of the artillery and an enormous mass of munitions were destroyed. Of 400,000 soldiers, one-third succumbed to hunger and cold in the mountains of Albania, a part were taken prisoners by the enemy and about 150,000 succeeded, after indescribable sufferings, in reaching the Island of Corfu. The whole of Serbia was handed over to the tender mercies of the Bulgarians and the Magyars.

### HER SUPREME SACRIFICE FOR HONOR AND FREEDOM

THESE terrible sacrifices were made by our people, conscious of its duty in the present struggle. The reconstituted remnants of the Serbian Army recommenced the struggle on the Salonica front.

But even still more remarkable is the movement of the Jugoslavs in Austria-Hungary. They are today the standard-bearers of freedom and democratic principles in these autocratic States. They declared war on the system of government which was the cause of the present war. Our entire people is resolved to hold out to the last for freedom and for these principles. In the Croatian Parliament the right of self-determination of the people has been repeatedly demanded; in the Slovene land the movement is led by the Prince-Bishop of Laibach, and over 200,000 Slovene women and young girls—all men having been forced to join the army—have subscribed petitions in which they demand a free and independent Jugoslav State. As the total Slovene population in the census of 1910 was 1,250,000, this represents nearly the totality of the women of the country. In the Serbia occupied by the enemy the people has taken up arms to defend itself against extermination, which the Bulgarians

and the Magyars are systematically carrying out with fiendish cruelty. The Czechs are joining the Jugoslavs in their movement. The Austria-Hungarian Government has been forced to dismiss the Parliament and in the Slav provinces martial law has been proclaimed.

The Jugoslaw element could also find means to compromise with the Austrians so as to be able to live in peace, just as peace was offered to Serbia in 1915, so that she might preserve her independence. But the Jugoslavs are also inspired by higher ideals and are conscious of their duties as members of the modern international society. Their struggle has nothing selfish, and they take part in it in the name of the great principles, of which the greatest representative is today the United States. The prospects of what this struggle will entail on the South Slav elements is terrible; martial law, executions en masse, deportations, confiscations of property, —in a word, extermination, that is what our people has to expect in this struggle.

On the Salonica front our people are but still fighting; new recruits for our army are volunteering from every side; in Austria-Hungary our people have risen and have declared war on the enemies of humanity. The Southern Slavs are ready to sacrifice everything for the freedom of the world and their own liberty.

"Liberty or death" are no vain words for the Jugoslavs, but their deep conviction and life principle.

# RIVETS

By LEWIS ALLEN BROWNE

***If any riveter in a shipyard drives only 60 rivets where he could drive 120, he has driven 60 for freedom and has left 60 undrivien for the Hohenzollerns.—THEODORE ROOSEVELT.***

THERE are three hundred thousand riveters striking five billion blows a day for Victory!

Every tap of a pneumatic riveter in our hundred and fifty shipyards is a blow for Liberty. For every American soldier who is today actually on the European battle front, there is another "soldier" back here who is driving rivets into steel ships.

Recently, in Washington, at a gathering of notables, including Senators, Cabinet officers, Army and Naval officers, a question was put in this manner:

"While all labor is important, and absolutely necessary, just what sort of labor happens to be of the most importance these days?"

Without hesitation five of the men spoke up, and each said the same word:

"Riveters!"

A year ago we did not have 10,000 ship riveters in the country—this included the man who actually sets the rivet and his "gang" of two, three or four men, depending upon the nature of the riveting. Only seven shipyards were in active operation. The speed with which we have built shipyards is now world history. More than half a million men in this country are now engaged in ship-building, nearly three hundred thousand of these are riveters, while the call is coming for "More riveters!"

At every shipyard where steel ships are built there are schools in operation training men to become riveters and holders-on, and boys to become heaters, passers-on and stick-ins.

At the beginning the riveters gladly accepted the work because there was " big money " in it. They drove only the customary number of rivets per day, usually about 100 or 200. Today they are struggling to make world records at riveting, some few are driving two and three thousand a day, the average is getting up to 400 to 500 a day.

In many a shipyard every riveter and every man in his gang gave one full day's wages to the Red Cross. They are voluntarily working over time, they are cutting down their lunch hour, they are speeding up from eight to nine and ten hours a day. It isn't the " big money " now that is spurring them on. There is something more than money back of it —something that puts more zest and endurance and " pep " into them than cold cash could do.

This knowledge of the situation did not come to these riveters in a flash. But, thanks to the wise and clever men behind them, they have learned what their work means.

When the late Rufus B. Choate exclaimed, " For God's sake, hurry up! " he said it from his heart, with no thought that he had coined a great war slogan. All great slogans come from the heart rather than the head. America's ship riveters have now adopted that slogan for their own. On signs it is nailed to their ship ways, to the supply shanties, and all over the " works " along with other inspiring signs such as:

BOYS!

The Germans Do Not Stop for the Rain.

Why Should We?

And so their own slogan:

" FOR GOD'S SAKE, HURRY UP! "

How many who read with satisfaction of the appointment of Edward Nash Hurley as the head of our Shipbuilding program and of Charles M. Schwab as chief of our Emergency Fleet Corporation work, knew just how fortunate those appointments proved to be? A little chat with some of the riveters—the steady, hard-working, newspaper-reading,

straight-thinking riveters, and there is a big army of them, will make this clear.

Mr. Hurley entered partnership with the inventor of the pneumatic riveter. Without capital he started manufacturing them in a single room shop with five workmen, and, failing to interest people here, he took his riveter over to England and demonstrated on the Clyde just what a pneumatic riveter could do. Before that all rivets were driven by "elbow grease" instead of compressed air. Mr. Hurley was the first man to drive a rivet into a steel ship by other than hand-power. These riveters of today know about this.

"You bet Big Boss Hurley knows his business," Donneley of the Hog Island yards said to me. "Wasn't he the first man to use a 'gun?'" A "gun" being the riveter's name for his pneumatic hammer. Neither wealth nor power nor university degrees could impress these riveters of a leader's right to lead one-tenth as greatly as the knowledge that their "Big Boss" is a practical riveter.

And the same holds good with Mr. Schwab.

"That's the boy who knows a hunk o' steel when he sees it," an admiring riveter shouted as he pointed out Mr. Schwab at the launching of the "Agawam."

Late last Winter, when the big shipbuilding program was scarcely under way, I was talking with a riveter who was jumping into his work as though his life depended upon it.

"Why the big rush?" I asked him. The man grinned.

"Three dollars and a half a hundred rivets," he shouted above the din, and turned to cuss his heater boy into more speed.

And on Memorial Day, when the Submarine Boat Corporation completed for the Emergency Fleet Corporation the world's first fabricated ship, I asked that same question.

"Why the big rush? Are you in a speed contest?"

"We're all in a speed contest," answered Peter Hurlburt, ship-riveter for Uncle Sam. "Didn't you read that piece in the paper where it said it was a race between us ship riveters and the Kaiser?"

THE RIVETERS' PART IN THE WAR

NO army in the onrush of a great victory ever possessed a better, more inspiring and stimulating morale than our army of three hundred thousand riveters possesses today. These men—not all of them at first—started in at work with the information that the country needed ships and a lot of them. Today every riveter and every heater boy and passer-on and sticker-in and holder-on has learned that it takes five tons of shipping to maintain one American soldier over in France. They know that we have three quarters of a million men "over there," and that by the end of August it is claimed that we shall have an even million soldiers in France. These men here at home who are setting "straw-hot" rivets into steel ships know that our soldiers cannot "carry on" in the fighting without ships, any more than the riveter can carry on his work without a supply of rivets heated to a bright straw color.

"I figgered it out last night, me and my little girl who's in school," Peter Hurlburt told me, between enormous bites of rye bread sandwiches and deep drafts of coffee heated on a rivet forge. "I had been reading that by th' Fourth o' July we'd have three quarters of a million soldiers in France. That's 750,000. If it takes five tons of shipping to keep one soldier goin' over in France, then it must take three and three quarters millions tons of shipping to keep th' whole bunch going. Our fabricated ships we're building here are of five thousand tons capacity. It would take seven hundred and fifty ships like 'Aggie' here (Agawam) to keep that bunch going over there. And they say we are goin' to send five million soldiers over if they need 'em or ten millions. Man, did ye stop to think of th' rivets that will mean?"

And Peter Hurlburt, soldier "over here," stood up, brushed the rye bread crumbs from his clothes, grabbed his riveter, shouted to his gang, and started the rat-tat-tatting of riveting a quarter of an hour before the lunch time was up.

Some unsung riveter who unquestionably is better at riveting than at writing "poetry," nevertheless summed up in a parody the way the greater part of our riveters feel about

their job. He was a "Porker," that is, a Hog Island shipyard "gun" man, and he wrote:

OVER HERE.

Get your rivet gun, rivet gun, rivet gun;
Bring your hammer, son, on the run, on the run;
Lay your "Keelson"—place that "Strake,"
There's no extra time to take.
Slide 'em down the way, no delay, ship a day;
Lay another keel, off the reel, give us steel,
Maybe you don't like the name,
But we'll bring Hog Island fame.

CHORUS.

On the square, working here, we will back up
the boys Over There.
The ships are coming, shipyards humming,
Rivet guns are drumming ev'rywhere.
So prepare—give us air—we will break any
record anywhere.
Slide 'em over, from here to Dover,
And we'll do our bit 'til it's over, Over There!

Every riveter has his "gang," which consists of at least two men and sometimes three, four or five, depending upon the location of the riveting. Usually a riveter and three men can do the work.

HOW THE RIVETS ARE HANDLED

THE process of riveting seems simple, to read about. The heater, generally a boy, although sometimes a man past middle age recently trained to the work, has a rivet forge with a blow-fan operated by electricity. Fine coke is burned. A few rivets are embedded in the coke, a turn of the button, and the fan makes the coke glow. The rivets, in turn, begin to glow, first a deep red, then a cherry red and from that to a bright straw color. That is the riveting shade. Cherry red is not sufficiently hot. White hot is too great a temperature. The first isn't soft enough, the other is too soft and the metal will scale and split.

When everything is in readiness the heater removes from the forge one of the rivets with a long-handled pair of

tongs. There's a trick in picking up the rivet. Unless the curved clasp of the tong fits about the rivet snug to the head, it will slip and miss its mark when thrown. With a little swing of the arm and a peculiar, loose twist of the wrist the heater tosses the rivet ten, twenty or even forty feet away, if necessary, to the passer-on who catches it in a cone-shaped zinc receptacle. Sometimes the passer-on is also a stick-in, that is, he may also thrust the rivet into the hole. This depends upon the locality in which he is working.

The passer-on fishes the rivet from the " can " with his tongs and either sticks it into the rivet hole himself, or hands tongs and all to the holder-on who sets it in place and immediately holds it there with all of his weight and strength with a specially made heavy hammer or with a dolly-bar, made for that purpose. The moment the rivet is through the hole the hammer or dolly-bar is in place, for the appearance of the rivet is the signal for the riveter who takes his pneumatic " gun," which delivers blows of 110 pounds to the square inch, sets it over the end of the hot rivet, pulls the gun trigger and the deafening " Rat-tat-tat " begins.

Very carefully he twists the gun around and around until that rivet is flattened out flush with the outside of the ship's hull, as smooth and as shining as glass, and so cleverly " set " that it is water tight. If this isn't done it must be drilled out and a new one set, for a ship without a water-tight hull is not an asset at any time and especially in time of war.

While the riveter has been doing this the heater has another rivet ready. The moment the riveter lifts the gun and stops it, the heater tosses another rivet to the passer-on, who delivers it to the holder-on, and again the riveter swings the heavy gun into position and again another rivet is in place in one of Uncle Sam's ships.

No contortionist of vaudeville ever juggled a weight into more positions than a riveter and his holder-on. Beneath the ship he scarcely has room to lie flat on his back and " shoot the rivet " straight overhead, protected with goggles. Or he may sit in a seemingly crazy " chock " to get at some part beneath the stern or out at the very bow.

It seems like a simple process. It is not simple, nor so easy. In winter it is far from being a bed of roses to work in, on, over and under the ice-cold steel, in chilling blasts. In summer it is equally trying to work in the blazing sun where the steel plates become literally "hot enough to fry eggs on." And the ease with which the heater tosses that yellow-hot rivet, the ease and accuracy with which the passer catches it, all means days of patient training.

### THE PRESIDENT DRIVES A RIVET

IT takes a real man to set a rivet or to be a holder-on. The latter works almost as hard as the riveter. There are "rivets and rivets." Some are easy to drive and some difficult. On the day that our first fabricated steel ship, 82% of which was built in a score of different cities, was slid into the waters of Newark Bay, President Wilson drove a rivet into the keel of a 9,400-ton ship at Alexandria, Va., the town where Washington used to go to church, the town that, a score of years ago, actually had tall grass growing between the cobbles of its streets leading down to the docks.

The President admitted that he did not have a union card. However, he was allowed to drive a rivet and he did it successfully. Inspection showed that it would "stay," that is, it would not have to be set over. However, they gave our President an easy job, for it was a "button-head" rivet that he set, and a button-head needs but a few direct taps and the riveting gun has formed the round cap head. Button-heads are not water-tight. They are used on interior and above-water work. In the building of sky-scrapers, elevated structures and such things we see the button-head rivets. We never see them on the outside of the hulls of ships, for such rivets are flattened down flush with the steel plates and made water-tight.

Some rivets may be "set" in twenty seconds, others in a minute and a half. No more than fifty "taps" of the riveters are needed to drive certain rivets, while with others from 200 to 400 taps are needed.

We are getting up to the three-ships-a-day mark, we

may be beyond it by the time this is in print. From 600,000 to 900,000 rivets must be driven in each ship, depending upon the tonnage of the craft. It takes an average of two hundred " rat-a-tat-tats " or blows to properly set a rivet, less for the button-heads, more for the counter-sunk flush-heads. Consequently our riveters are striking about five billion blows a day for Liberty!

A riveting gang receives from $2 to $5 per hundred rivets. Naturally the riveter gets the major share of this, his holder-on the next, heater next and passer-on the smaller portion. Frequently, when working on " Fair," which is the riveter's term for work in proper position and easy of access, it is possible to get on with only heater and holder-on, the heater passing direct to the holder-on. In this case the proportion of the money paid a gang is:

Riveter, 44%; Holder-on, 33%; Heater boy, 23%.

The price per hundred rivets varies according to the kind of rivets that are driven. Naturally not as much would be paid for a hundred of the easily driven button-heads as for a hundred of those all-important flush-head water-tight ones, nor as much for the small ones as for the large ones requiring more labor.

### RECORD PAY FOR RIVETERS

RECENTLY a gang of three men made $87 in a day. This record has already been broken, some making as high as $140 in a day. And records will doubtless keep right on being broken all the while the riveters are devoting every ounce of work in them to the all-important task of sliding more and still more ships into the water. But these three men who made $87 in a day had the money divided like this:

Riveter, 44%, $38.28; Holder-on, 33%, $28.71; Heater boy, 23%, $20.01.

Most of the heater boys are around sixteen to eighteen years as the older and heavier men are needed for the heavier work of holders-on who are, as soon as possible, trained to become riveters. Twenty dollars a day is mighty good pay for these boys, and while not many get as much as that, a

very great many are earning from $50 to $70 a week, while many riveters are getting around $150 a week.

And yet there is a scarcity of riveting gangs.

" We want 1,200 riveting gangs by the first of June," the call went up at the Newark yards.

They did not get that many, but rather close to it, about a thousand. They want even more than that this month. Almost every shipyard is now training men to become riveters, heaters, passers-on, stick-ins and holders-on. In many yards instruction schools are maintained with a competent corps of " teachers." In some of these schools thirty men a day are " graduated." They are beating this now at the Port of Newark. There are about 700 in the school.

" Some of the boys become sufficiently proficient to go to work after three days' practice at heating and tossing rivets," said A. P. Hyde, one of the men instructing heaters and passers-on. " If they cannot make good within ten days it is generally useless to bother with them, as they'll never make good. Very few, however, fail to make good within a week."

He had a gang of boys standing at a row of rivet forges. " Pick out one that isn't hot enough," he said to a colored boy of no more than sixteen or seventeen. The boy did so and volunteered the information that " It ain't never no good when it's cherry red."

" Pick out one that is too hot." The boy did so, exhibiting a sizzling, " spitting " white-hot rivet.

" She'll all scale off, she's too hot," the boy said, grinning, " but yere's one jes' right, color of straw," and he lifted a bright straw-colored rivet from the forge, tossed it dexterously to a passer-on and waited for his instructor to tell him what else to do.

" Go to work tomorrow morning," said the instructor. As the boy thanked him and started away the instructor said, " Three days ago that boy didn't know a rivet from a forge."

One of the riveters at a certain yard had received a week's instruction and been at work only a month when he won a prize in a speed contest and he knew absolutely nothing about riveting five weeks before that. He was an exception.

Usually it takes two weeks to turn out a fairly competent riveter, one who can be trusted to even set button-heads. Of course only skilled riveters are allowed to set the outside rivets.

Not fat men, nor large, heavy men are needed. The most successful riveters are of medium build, weigh about 150 pounds and are wiry. It takes good arm and back muscles for the work, but not necessarily weight. The lighter men are able to speed up more.

### SPEEDING UP BY CONTESTS

RIVETING contests were not inspired by either shipyard or Government officials, but came about in quite a normal manner. Early in March of this year, Riveter J. Frederickson, of the Submarine Boat Corporation at the Port of Newark, and his gang, drove 836 button-head rivets in nine and a half hours. This was a marvelous achievement, as compared with the average day's work at riveting at that time, and caused a lot of talk. Newspaper reporters heard of it and soon many newspapers about the country were giving praise to Riveter Frederickson and his gang.

" We can beat it," came the declaration from many other riveting gangs in many other shipyards, and they set about to do it. Every time a little higher record was made it was reported to the newspapers, until finally prizes were offered by superintendents, newspapers and private individuals.

From 836 rivets in a day the record grew to 1,009. This was hailed with delight throughout the country. But it was only the beginning. Up and up the totals climbed, to 1,500 and then to 2,000 and up beyond 3,000. At this writing it is impossible to say what the top record is. When the news was cabled from England that a riveter had driven 4,422 in nine hours, it seemed almost incredible, but we have since learned that this was not done in ship construction, but in making margarine tanks, much easier work. Later came word from England that a crew had driven 6,783 rivets in a day. However, this was on ship frame work where button-

heads were driven and on such work it is possible to drive from two to four or more rivets while one counter-sunk flush-head rivet is being set in the hull of a ship, "Guaranteed water-tight."

Not long ago Viscount Northcliffe cabled a prize of $100 to a colored man at the Bethlehem shipbuilding plant. This was the first international prize. Even under the best conditions it is difficult for a layman to judge fairly, since there are so many varieties of rivets and because it is twice as easy to drive in one part of a ship than in another.

It is not the ten or twenty dollars extra that is spurring on the riveters to break records, it is a fine combination of patriotism and pride. These men have given their full quota to the Red Cross and have bought more than their quota of Liberty Bonds. A large and increasing per cent. of them are taking advantage of the branch savings banks opened in the yards and depositing a generous slice of their earnings each pay day. At the South Jacksonville, Fla., shipyards 400 riveters sent a letter to Chairman Hurley informing him that they were giving one full day's work to the Government, and they did this work on Sunday in order to further increase their output.

General Pershing has cabled his word of praise to the riveters. Official Washington has acquired a profound respect for these men who are speeding up the shipbuilding program with their blows for Liberty with the "air guns" a thousand times faster than any propaganda could do, and are inclined to salute a riveter whenever they see him.

In the Winter and Spring the Pacific shipyards were beating those on the Atlantic, but at that time many of the Eastern yards were only under way and the weather conditions, ideal on the Pacific, were the worst experienced in a generation on the Atlantic.

All of the riveters are not in the shipyards on the coasts and at the Great Lakes. In hundreds of plants far inland men are at work fabricating the ships and riveting the various parts before shipping them to be assembled.

WHAT CHAIRMAN HURLEY SAYS

CHAIRMAN HURLEY makes the following statement for the FORUM as to the importance of the work of the riveters:

"Rivets driven into the hull of a ship spell actual tonnage production. The preliminary work of fabricating and assembling is, of course, just as necessary and just as important as the actual riveting. But the very fact that the riveter binds the ship together in its final form makes the riveting a more spectacular and, perhaps, a more responsible task than any other in shipbuilding.

"A ship is just as strong as the rivets that hold it together. Put a ship out on the high seas with rivets carelessly driven in her sides and she cannot stand the strain of a storm, whatever may be the strength of her plates. We cannot, therefore, over-emphasize the value of good riveting."

On July 4, this year, new world's riveting records will be made in American shipyards, for that will be "Liberty Launching Day," and there can be no launchings without the "Rat-a-tat-tat-tat" of the riveter's "gun" which was once a terrible din to civilian ears, but today is music to everyone. Every shipyard has been asked to "speed up" and every foreman of every riveting gang has personally asked every riveter, holder-on, stick-in, passer-on and heater, to "Speed up to the last ounce," because President Wilson, Chairman Hurley, Director Schwab, General Pershing and every soldier, sailor and civilian, is making the request.

# WAR IDEALS OF GREAT BRITAIN

By LORD READING

AMBASSADOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER FROM GREAT BRITAIN

GREAT BRITAIN entered the war in August, 1914, seeking neither territory, plunder nor commercial expansion. She was bound in honour to fight for Belgium and to support France. Since that time we have perceived more and more clearly that the origin of the struggle was in the main a contest between ideals so irreconcilably and radically opposed to each other that the world is not large enough for them to co-exist side by side.

German views are crystallized in a few sentences of Lasson in his well-known book "Culturideal und der Krieg."

The view taken there of other States is that they "have rights only in so far as they possess a power of resistance that must be taken into account and in so far

as they are desirable allies or respectable adversaries" and that as "between States there is but one sort of right—the right of the stronger."

England and her European Allies aided by your great country intend to destroy this highwayman's creed.

For that purpose they are banded together in a brotherhood of arms. They are fighting to restore those ideals and principles of international conduct which accord to each State its individual liberty and freedom of existence. They are fighting to break militarism and to bring about a new era in which world domination will form no part of the ambition of any country.

Victory for such a cause as this will assuredly come. It will bring in its train that permanent security which will enable each individual State to develop in peace and freedom according to its own genius. To mankind generally, to the cause of progress and democracy, its blessings will be incalculable.

# WHERE ARE OUR STATESMEN?

By HON. ALBERT B. FALL
[U. S. SENATOR FROM NEW MEXICO]

WHAT of Politicians and of Statesmen among us to-day?

Well, Webster says, "In modern usage, 'Politician' commonly implies activity in party politics, especially with a suggestion of artifice or intrigue; *Statesman* now usually suggests broad-minded and far-seeing sagacity in affairs of state."

Speaking of one of our great men of to-day, a great daily newspaper recently said, "Admirers and critics . . . agree that all his actions are governed by two prime considerations, patriotism and politics; sometimes one moves him, sometimes the other, but most often a combination of both."

I am inclined to think that this statement might well be made of the majority of those prominent in the public eye to-day, whether Congressmen, Senators, members of the Administration, newspaper and magazine editors, or others taking important part in the shaping not only of public opinion, but of policy; and whether greater or lesser Statesmen or Politicians. The greater are more often moved by patriotism, the lesser probably by politics, but each at the worst more often by both.

Under our form of government those who have taken a prominent part in public affairs for many years past must necessarily have been (and are) politicians, at least in the sense of being party leaders. To maintain party leadership in our democracy in times of peace requires constant practice in politics, while evidences of statesmanship not being demanded by a crisis will be more or less latent if not lacking.

Congress and the Administration for many years, with only few exceptions, have been engaged in discussing and formulating "little things," and until the war came very little had occurred to develop statesmanship or to educate statesmen.

A man may be born a politician and with little or no education or experience become a party leader. One *may* be born more than a politician, but must have some particular or peculiar education (not necessarily book education) to round him into a statesman, of "broad-minded and far-seeing sagacity in affairs of State."

To constitute a statesman, native ability is necessary, but, more than all, experience must be the teacher and molder or the genius will never qualify under one of Kipling's requirements for a *man*: "If you can dream, and not make dreams your master. If you can think, and not make thoughts your aim."

It is presumptuous in me, an humble Senator from a little known and far Southwestern State, even to offer the foregoing, and I would never voluntarily have dared to follow the matter further except upon your insistence.

## CONGRESSIONAL INEPTITUDE AND PRESIDENTIAL PRESUMPTIONS

CONGRESS is honest and patriotic, but having been accustomed to deal with little things in a little way and the majority being of the Administration party, when called upon to deal with big things since 1914 it had no Congressional mind of its own, and if left alone does nothing and then complains when some one on the outside jolts it from the platform or the press. It acts now, but generally by direct command, and when animated by instructions from the White House; it is now grumbling to some extent when the commands are conveyed through some member of the Peace Cabinet. Really, at times Congress almost arouses itself to the belief that it knows as much about conducting a war as does Secretary Baker.

Our foreign policy (until the advent of this Adminis-

tration), based upon Washington's advice, was to attend to our own business; and only when our national, possibly selfish, interests were at stake did we interfere with or question the acts of other countries.

At the outbreak of this war we had few public men living who had much accurate knowledge of foreign affairs and fewer who had actually had experience in international matters affecting this country.

But we did have a national state of mind:

First: Being isolated, self-sufficient and ignorant, we believed that we could deal with other nations as with our internal affairs, with no more, not even so much, thought for the present or the future consequences as in the preparation and passage of a tariff bill.

Second: As practically all our people not holding or seeking office were and are business men, and busy men, we who elected a President believed that in some miraculous way the taking of the Presidential oath invested a man whom the day before we had known as a politician, a lawyer, or a college president, with all the diplomatic shrewdness and force of a Talleyrand or Bismarck; with the military sagacity and genius of a Napoleon, and with the ability and statesmanship and great wisdom of a Washington and a Lincoln.

Unfortunately, at the outbreak of the world war, Cleveland being dead and Olney retired from public affairs, we had among the public men out of office, who had experience in international affairs, only certain Republicans, among them Root, Roosevelt and Taft. We had in charge of diplomatic affairs Bryan, with his experience as diplomatic agent in the appointment end of the State Department and in negotiating twenty odd so-called peace treaties (really un-American entangling alliances), succeeded by Lansing; and we had—the President.

### A COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE PRESIDENT

A SOMEWHAT extensive search among all the available records discloses that the President had, up to the moment he took the oath, never written, said or appar-

ently thought about the United States in its past, present or future relations to or with any foreign country (except as incidentally he found it necessary in writing his history of the American people).

I mistake. In the March, 1897, number of the "Atlantic Monthly," the President, then Woodrow Wilson, writing of Cleveland's Venezuela Message (and of Cleveland's characteristics) said: "Here again he showed himself a strong man, but no diplomatist. It was like a blunt, candid, fearless man to say that it was the duty of the United States to ascertain for herself the just rights of Venezuela, and resist any encroachment upon her southern neighbor by every means in her power, and to add that he fully realized the consequences that might follow such a declaration of purpose. But only our kinsmen overseas would have yielded anything or sought peace by concession after such words had been spoken. England presently showed that she would not have taken such a defiance from William of Germany."

"We are at last enabled to read the famous message aright. There spoke a man as desirous and capable of peace and moderation as any in the nation, but accustomed when he spoke at all to speak his whole mind without reserve, and willing to speak to Europe, if she must hear, as freely as he would speak to his own people. It was the perilous indiscretion of a frank nature incapable of disguises."

One might conclude that the President as Dr. Wilson approved rather the Machiavelli or Talleyrand school of diplomacy!

Probably the intellectual peer of any President or any American, living or dead; a student of *our* form of government; a voluminous writer with a remarkable understanding and facility in the use of our language; undoubtedly a sociologist of parts and imbued with ideals, theories and convictions as to human welfare, uplift and betterment, the President is in the minds of many possessed not only of the patriotic spirit, but combines all the great qualities of Washington and Lincoln, as well as of the great statesman and possibly the greater party leader, Jefferson.

Washington lived first a primitive life and knew men in the rough. After his military experience in saving the remnant of Braddock's forces, he, as military chieftain, led our soldiers to victory and won our independence. He presided over the Constitutional Convention, and held it together successfully even when Hamilton went back to New York. He knew *men* and had vast practical experience and was able to shape for us a foreign policy which carried us through our first one hundred and thirty years of national life down to the year 1917.

Lincoln lived first a primitive life and through sympathy and actual contact and experience knew the hearts and souls of men as it is given but few to understand them. He had but little reason to impress himself upon any foreign policy. His mission was through the men of America to save the Union which Washington had formed.

Jefferson, after seeing the French Revolution, was thoroughly impressed with human welfare and social betterment policies and was a great politician, party founder and leader.

President Wilson came to the White House from a boys' school via a State Governorship.

Lincoln was criticized by his friends for keeping in his Cabinet Stanton, who flouted and insulted him, and Sumner, his rival. He knew men; he was anxious only to save his country; he would not make it more pleasant and easy for himself by appointing only his personal followers and worshipers to help save the country. Stanton and Sumner helped save it.

Lincoln, as he wrote McClellan, read every military work he could secure and consulted every military officer whom he could talk to before deciding upon military matters, and yet he had a Stanton to whom he might have left all the decisions.

Washington did not need to read books, to seek advice in military affairs from other officers, nor to rely upon a Stanton or a Sumner. He was a soldier, a military genius himself, and finally a maker of foreign policies.

ROOT, ROOSEVELT, TAFT, AND WOOD

I HAVE mentioned Elihu Root. Here is not only an interpreter, but a maker of international law; a great lawyer; a great Secretary of State; well known and respected in Europe—throughout the world. The world wonders why Root is not allowed to serve his country in this crisis, except as he serves it by his example and through his advice as a private citizen.

Roosevelt—writer, student, historian, almost as well known in these fields as President Wilson; legislator, cowboy, police commissioner, Assistant Secretary of the Navy; actual bona fide fighter, big game hunter, explorer, world traveler; the most widely known American in the world; ex-President!

Taft: Lawyer; Judge; Governor of the Philippines, knowing the Latin-Americans there, in Cuba—Panama; Secretary of State; associated with our military leaders in the Philippines and Cuba; President; allowed to do his official bit as Labor Mediator (and doing it well); is there no other sphere for his magnificent abilities and great experience?

Wood: Our senior Major General; actual fighter; military Governor of the Philippines; pacificator of Cuba; reorganizer of armies; only world-known American military man; too true a military prophet and too "far-sighted and sagacious"?

Thus the politicians and critics. We are all too prone to criticize, especially the politicians; as Lincoln says, "I say this with the greater freedom because, being a politician myself, none can regard it as personal."

We should simply realize that the second "state of mind" concerning the miraculous conception of Presidential endowments of which I have spoken is, as the President would say, a "psychological condition."

Knowing the President's magnificent mental equipment for any duty, we must be patient and not captious. We must uphold and sustain him as President and as Commander-in-Chief.

The President now has more personal authority, more

autocratic power, than has the Kaiser. Each must assume the responsibility reposed with the authority conferred or assumed. Wilhelm cannot hide behind Von Bissell or Hindenburg. His alone is the responsibility for the suffering, the outrage, the world holocaust; his the responsibility to civilization and to the Great God above.

The President's is the responsibility for delays, if any, in armament and men for the rescue of the world; his the responsibility to the Christian world and to the people of America.

# OBSERVATIONS OF EPICTETUS, Jr.

By LEWIS ALLEN

We won't need to celebrate with fire-crackers this year.

Standardization and quantity output of ships, motors and planes, is all right, but how about standardizing on patriotism?

Germany says we are a country of shopkeepers. Just now we are exporting a lot of hardware into their midst.

The Three German Fates are: "Faithless, Hopeless and Uncharitable."

To view the fuel situation calmly next Winter put about twenty tons in your bins this Summer.

Patriotism and criticism are the two best speeders-up in existence.

One Hun in a prison camp is happier than a thousand at the front.

Our war profiteers who think they are rolling in wealth are really grovelling in it.

The business of war is never "picking up," but, rather, "knocking over."

There's no patriotism in giving three cheers—and letting it go at that.

Riches is not so much a matter of the amount of money you have as the amount of thrift you possess.

A pacifist is just as much out of place in America on this Fourth of July as he would be in No-man's-land.

# MEXICO'S CHIEF AIM

By HIS EXCELLENCY, IGNATIO Y. BONILLAS
[AMBASSADOR OF MEXICO]

*The Rumor Factory is always busy in Mexican affairs. The clear message of the Mexican Ambassador is a frank statement of Mexico's position toward the war.*

MUCH has been said in the American press regarding German propaganda in Mexico; and to this effect I must state that the press in my country enjoys complete freedom, and as a proof of this you will find there not only pro-allied newspapers, but also newspapers antagonistic to the present Mexican administration. Being a neutral government, Mexico respects the press, treating all newspapers alike as long as they stay within the limits of neutrality; and this, of course, while the honor and sovereignty of Mexico is not affected.

It is a fact that the Mexican people are only giving their attention to the domestic situation of the country and to its complete reconstruction. Proof of this has been given by the failure of some Army officers who, due to personal ambitions, attempted to revolt against the legal government, and who have lacked entirely the support of the people.

Regarding the patriotism of the Mexican people, history speaks by itself, and I only have to add that the Embassy under my charge receives daily unmistakable proofs of loyalty and love towards the mother country from all Mexicans residing in this Republic. These patriotic manifestations are of different kinds, among the most significant being the fact that Mexicans without work and in need who seek employment in American enterprises, prefer to experience hardships rather than to renounce their citizenship, a requisite, without which, many American concerns deny employment to them. These Mexicans are now returning to their own country, as fast as they can obtain means to do so.

There is nothing mysterious about Mexico's foreign policy. Reports to the contrary are based, perhaps, on failure

to understand properly some of the guiding principles of our present action.

Our chief aim now is to remain neutral. To us this is not only a just, but a necessary policy. Mexico's position is not like that of other countries which until recently have enjoyed the benefits of peace, and have now felt it necessary to embark upon a policy of war.

### WHEN MEXICO WAS AT WAR, WE WERE AT PEACE

COMPARE the position of the United States with that of Mexico, for example. While Mexico was engaged in her death struggle for liberty, while we were destroying ourselves in pursuance of our liberation from despotism, man against man and brother against brother, you were at peace.

Now you are at war and we are at peace. Should we develop our resources as a means to remedy the destruction caused by internal war and reconstruct the country, or should we interrupt our constructive work to seek out a policy which even your own leaders agree would be detrimental to the interests of the Mexican people?

If the question of Mexico's national honor or Mexico's sovereign rights were involved, a deliberate policy of self-sacrifice might be necessary. But we have no cause for resentment against the contending parties, as our interests have not been injured or greatly jeopardized.

We cannot afford to participate in the war on one side or the other if we can honorably avoid it. Our policy is, therefore, one of peace and reconstruction as against war and its ravages.

The allied nations claim to be fighting for Liberty, Democracy, the destruction of a military despotism, and to make the world fit for those principles. Mexico has fought during the last seven years for the same principles at home, and after untold sacrifices, has succeeded in deposing and driving out of existence the worst military despotism, and in establishing a Constitutional Government founded upon the principles of Justice to all, nationals and foreigners alike.

# THE MOST DANGEROUS MAN IN EUROPE

## THE GERMAN CROWN PRINCE

By Capt. EDWARD LYELL FOX

*NOTE: This article is written by an American who was close to Imperial Germany, as a resident of Berlin, until the break of diplomatic relations between Germany and the United States. It is a look forward to what might be expected if the Crown Prince were to rule Germany.*

FRIEDRICH WILHELM, Crown Prince of Germany, is today one of the most popular men in his country. The German people do not know his true character. Hindenburg is the popular man of the people, but when they consider the Crown Prince, their gaze turns higher. For he is a Hohenzollern, and some day he expects to rule by "Divine Right." Hindenburg is one of those heroes of history who, thrown high by the crest of a wave of fleeting feeling, is adored by a nation, only to be forgotten when times of stress pass away. The Crown Prince, however, is a potential ruler. The destiny of Imperial Germany is to be his—if Wotan does not desert the Hohenzollerns. Seventy millions of people are subject to the workings of the royal mind Wherefore, he is a "Being" to the Germans—a "Being" in which their lives and future are a part. What about him?

In Berlin before the war they called him *"Unbescriebenes Blatt"*—the "unwritten page." The Berliners no longer call him that. They feel now that they know his worth. They do not. Friedrich Wilhelm is popular, tremendously so. He is the idol of the German army. The mass of the German people have come to love him—if they but knew him! There is no more anxiety felt about his coming to the throne; the war has done it. For the Crown Prince is clever, amazingly so. His face does not show it. He has been caricatured to represent a rabbit. There is no denying that his features look weak. He has often been photographed grinning in a silly way; but the grin can be sinister, too. For

Friedrich Wilhelm is one of the most dangerous and sinister men in the world.

In America the Sunday editions have regaled us with stories of his exploits—"affairs," supper parties, rash automobile driving and steeplechasing. We all know by now how he led his favorite regiment of Hussars on horseback up the terraces of the old castle of Sans Souci and then held gay doings with them there. We know how his apparent thoughtlessness has brought down severe criticism from the Imperial parent. We have heard all manner of stories involving him with light young ladies.

What we have not heard is that the man himself is a contradiction to all his harum-scarum actions of the past. That the emptiness of his face is a mask that nature has given him apparently to conceal the shrewd, calculating brain behind. He looks a bit like a spoiled scion of a wealthy family—a German edition of Harry Thaw. Instead, he is a deep, relentless thinker, somewhat cruel, and a past master at playing the mob. For example:

HOW HE PLAYS TO THE MOB

When the Kaiser's limousine rolls down the Linden it is preceded and flanked by uniformed guards; fanfares are blown from a horn. All the pomp of an Emperor is there. During the war the Crown Prince has also had occasion to motor down the Linden. But what a difference! He drives in an open runabout. His wife sits beside him—the Crown Princess Ceceile. His good-looking youngsters, four in number, are piled on the floor of the car, their little legs dangling over the running board. There is no sign of an escort. The little runabout gives the impression of a simple family out for an outing. The Crown Prince is at the wheel grinning. The crowds rush to the curb, delighted at this display of democracy in their future ruler, and shout: *"Hoch!"* Keeping one hand on the wheel, the Crown Prince gaily waves back. *"Donnerwetter!* A fine *gemutlich* man," the crowd says.

But because his mind is such, the Crown Prince is say-

ing to himself, "Well, my good people, I put it over on you again that time. You think I love you—fools!"

The soldiers in his army love Friedrich Wilhelm. He has made it his business to meet as many of them as possible. He has an uncanny memory for retaining the names of certain privates. He uses this gift. He will visit the men in their quarters and chat with them. They love him. That is good for the morale. It is easier for men to die in battle when they believe their commander has a personal welfare of each of them written on his heart. The soldiers of the Crown Prince's army have caused his careful treatment of them to be spread broadcast. The entire fighting male population of Germany today—except some Socialists—believe that the Crown Prince suffers mental agony every time he reads a new list of Germans killed or wounded. Did he not say so in an interview which he gave to an American correspondent?

Keeping that in mind, go back into the Crown Prince's boyhood. He had two pet dogs. He wanted these dogs to sit on their haunches and hold their forelegs out straight. It would be a pretty sight when he took his dogs out riding in a little basket cart. He couldn't train one of the dogs to stick out his forelegs like ramrods. So, becoming greatly exasperated, Friedrich Wilhelm snatched the little animal by the scruff of the neck and buried its nose in the dirt. It choked to death. To make sure that the other dog would hold out its legs properly, Friedrich Wilhelm broke both of them. It could never bend them. They were indeed as straight as ramrods. His Imperial Highness was pleased.

The truth about the matter is that the Crown Prince is a genius for playing the mob. He doesn't care any more for the mob than does the Kaiser. The mob causes his royal blood to revolt. The Kaiser tries to play the mob, but it is exquisite torture for him to pretend he has deep interest in people who are quite ignorant and unnoble. After acting his part, the Kaiser, exasperated with himself, will turn around to a royal aide and let go an oath. Not the Crown Prince. He never shows his hand. Every time he can he makes the

mob believe that they are the best little people in the world. What a stage director!

### A MASTER AT THE ART OF PUBLICITY

At Christmas a year ago he sent broadcast a public telegram that made the nation sit up and gasp and then applaud. The telegram was from his Field Headquarters. It said: "For Christmas presents send my soldiers rum. They need it more than Christmas trinkets." This, of course, was true. On cold, damp nights in the trenches a nip of rum warming the body is about the most desirable thing on earth. Of course, one familiar with the German organization knew the Crown Prince had but to requisition rum of the supply department and it would come to him through the regular channels. Instead of that, he sent these "human" telegrams broadcast. Copies of them were reprinted on blaring posters and hung in shop windows. In that way the Crown Prince got more publicity as a regular human being with the welfare of the soldiers at heart.

At the publicity game the Crown Prince is skilled. An American correspondent, whose name need not be mentioned, was quite taken in by the Crown Prince in an interview. Oh, yes, although his Imperial Highness regretted that he had never had the great pleasure of visiting America, he was quite familiar with his (the correspondent's) country. He had read extensively of it. He liked "the stories of Jack London, Rex Beach." He admired the Americans very much for their love of sport. He would dearly love to see a Yale-Harvard football game, and what splendid baseball games the Americans have! Whereupon the interview printed in America made a profound impression in favor of the Crown Prince. Everybody likes to be told that he is known of by someone else whom he has never met—especially if that someone be great.

And by birth the Crown Prince is great. The mistake a good many people make is in thinking that Friedrich Wilhelm has no other greatness except the position given him by birth. Our conception of the Crown Prince that he is a

butterfly, an eternal chaser after pleasure, is absurd. That type of man is harmless; the heir to the German throne is sinister. He works hard. He takes his military duties very seriously. He has worked like a Trojan to perfect himself in military science. He is a keen student of sociology and psychology. He knows the teachings of all the philosophers and runs quite a bit toward Nietschke, or the "mad man of Weimer," as he is carelessly called. The Crown Prince has been profoundly influenced by the teachings of that vitriolic sage who believes that there are only two kinds of people in the world, the small group at the top and the "herd." The Crown Prince, of course, believes that he belongs to the small group. But he is shrewd enough never to let the "herd" believe that he considers them as such. Instead of that they are "my people"—to be. Because of this skill as an actor, because of his ruthless ideas on divine right, because of his recklessness, of his lack of religious fear—which fear his father has—the Crown Prince is a much more dangerous man than the Kaiser. When the Kaiser is acting a part he shows it. The Imperial phlegm is bound to show. The Crown Prince cleverly conceals it.

### HOW HE PLAYS FOR POPULARITY

The German people began to have an idea that the Crown Prince was a decided positive personality at the time that dainty odor rose from the Imperial "Round Table." It seemed that everybody in Berlin knew of the scandal in the Kaiser's entourage except the Kaiser himself. The doings of Eulenburg and Kuno von Moltke had not come to the Kaiser's attention. Everybody was afraid to broach the subject to Wilhelm II. The Crown Prince decided that his father ought to know of the unsavory scandal and clean out his entourage. So he braved the Imperial wrath and brought all the facts before his father. The public scandal that followed was a bitter pill to the German people, but they were grateful to the Crown Prince for having the nerve to drive it out into public—instead of leaving it stinking beneath the surface. It was to be supposed that the Crown Prince fig-

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ured out in advance the shrewdness of such a move—its effect on the German people. For it appeared to show him to be indifferent toward the feelings of old aristocratic families and to care only for the welfare of Germany itself.

He gained the popularity of the army five years ago by a master stroke of theatricalism. The Reichstag was debating the Morocco affair. The sentiment of the army was for war with France over the Agidir incident. The diplomatic sentiment, as shown in the speech of the Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollwegg, was for peace. It came the turn of the Junker leader, Heydebrand, to speak. Up to this time the Crown Prince had been quietly sitting in a box listening to a debate. As soon as the *Junker* leader began his speech for war the trim figure of the Crown Prince was seen to lean conspicuously over the box rail. At every utterance for war he conspicuously applauded, personifying the wishes of the army against the then peaceful policy of the Chancellor. From that time on the clever Friedrich Wilhelm was the idol of the German Army.

The army knows him for a daredevil. They know that he is a reckless horseman, that he rode and won a famous steeplechase at the risk of breaking his neck. That he sailed a Zeppelin much to his father's dismay. That he made an aeroplane trip with one of the Wrights, when the aeroplane was not a safe vehicle. That he made a hunting trip through India, risking his life with wild beasts. They know that during this war he has often exposed himself to fire against the wishes of the old Generals assigned to watch him. All these stunts he did to build his reputation—not because he liked to do them. For this recklessness, he received a reprimand from his father. The heir to the throne of Germany must be kept in a glass case; but the Crown Prince is forever breaking the glass. Friedrich Wilhelm resents being kept under key.

### HIS INSINCERITY AND VANITY

As he wrote in the famous letter to Count von Hochberg, "Papa talks politics with me once in a while, and I like it."

As he wrote in his diary while in India, "I believe in the dictum of my sainted ancestor, Frederick the Great, and agree with him that people should be allowed to pursue happiness and salvation, each in his own sweet way." That this extract from the Crown Prince's diary has been published would indicate that it was written for publication. Certainly the right of the people to lead their own life, as recorded by the Crown Prince as his belief, is utterly at odds with the thoughts of the conquest group of Germany, whose idol he is. It only goes to show his insincerity. The one phrase, "each in his own sweet way," shows his flippancy and disposition to do whatever he likes. The adjective "sweet" is never used as the Crown Prince used it unless the writer is possessed of an enormous ego.

There is nothing in the Crown Prince's face to show that he is a Hohenzollern. His face lacks the soldierly appearance that stares out from the Imperial visage of Wilhelm II. He has a smile that might indicate a kind heart if one did not remember stories of his youth. How he loves the common people—not! It is to his record that he took part in the golden wedding celebration of a poor Potsdam shoemaker. It is on record that he has stopped his automobile on the highway and picked up tired peasants, giving them a lift to their destination. And how the Germans love to tell these kindly stories of their Crown Prince! Of course, one never hears how he led thousands and thousands of humble shoemakers and poor peasants into the death trap of Verdun, long after there was any military reason for attacking the place, simply because the offensive must be continued to save the reputation of his Imperial Highness. Nor is it told how this hopeless offensive, this hopeless spending of the lives of his soldiers whom the German newspapers say he loves—how this sacrificing of the German "herd" by the thousands, was done to save the Crown Prince's military reputation until a scapegoat could be found. That side of the picture is never considered. A German believes only what he wants to believe.

Falkenhayn was the scapegoat. The failure of the Verdun offensive was blamed on him, not on the Crown Prince.

As a result Falkenhayn was removed as Chief of Staff. Enter the only other man who could save the face of the Crown Prince on an abandonment of Verdun. That man was Hindenburg, idol of the German people. Hindenburg said that because he wished to conduct big military operations in the east, it would be necessary to give up the Verdun attack. Hindenburg's shoulders were big enough to carry this off. So the military reputation of the Crown Prince was saved. With the German people, His Imperial Highness bowed to the wishes of Hindenburg, gave up Verdun—"for his country's good"—and was applauded. Falkenhayn, the "goat," was to be compensated. He was allowed to emerge from the disgrace of being removed as Chief of Staff by being placed in command of the army now conquering Rumania. If Falkenhayn becomes great by that campaign, he will have his reward for being the goat of Verdun. He will go higher even than Field Marshal. . . . And so the prestige of the Crown Prince is manœuvred with consummate skill by the Imperial wire pullers of Germany.

### HOW A HERO IS STAGED FOR THE PUBLIC

It is a fact that after the battle of Tannenburg, after Hindenburg was being hailed all over Germany as the "Saviour of East Prussia," that his pictures were put in every shop window. Then those accurate gaugers of German sentiment who sit in the Wilhelmstrasse decided that Hindenburg was overshadowing the Crown Prince. Of course, nobody can overshadow the Kaiser; he really holds the people. It is a fact, that as if by order, every Hindenburg picture along the Linden disappeared. Instead, in every window there appeared a copy of a favorite picture of the Crown Prince—very natty in his Hussar uniform. For some months Crown Prince pictures were the vogue upon which the bovine populace could feast its eyes. Then Friedrich Wilhelm was removed, and, as if by clock work, portraits of Falkenhayn began to appear. After Falkenhayn had a short run, his Imperial Majesty stepped into the limelight of the shop windows. Then, with the attack on Verdun, back came the other

Hohenzollern, Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm. In just such ways the makers of German politics stage alternate heroes for the public mind.

Now, the hands of the Kaiser are strong. His brain is amazingly shrewd. He took a Germany that was just emerging from the band-braying, victory-flushed influence of Bismarck and molded it into a state so cleverly conceived that it retained in Imperial hands all the feudal power of another century, yet apparently gave the Socialistic elements the kind of government that they were demanding. Germany today is a paradox between the absolute type of monarchy and the most Socialistic state on earth. In other words, to make them good, loyal supporters of the Hohenzollern dynasty, the German people have been led to believe that theirs is the most liberal government on earth. Their Socialism is a slave Socialism. This clever narcotic put their minds to sleep for some time. With its wonderful system of monarchical socialism, Imperial Germany filled the stomachs of the German people with food, gave them comfortable beds to sleep on, took provision for their old age—*and exacted absolute obedience from them.* A full belly often kills an active mind.

### THE GERMAN SOCIALISTS MUTTERING

But the stress of war has got the German people thinking again. There are mutterings. The German Socialist paper, *Vorwarts,* is suspended periodically. The *Berliner Tageblatt,* organ of the middle class, has also pricked the Imperial Government by its editorial questions. It, too, has been suspended. When Karl Liebknecht, the German Socialist, was sentenced to prison by a military court, there was such a demonstration of protest throughout Germany that rioting followed. On the Leipsiger Platz, in Berlin, mounted policemen had to charge and saber the crowd. Now when the war is over the Imperial Government will have to make liberalizing concessions to the German people. The Crown Prince is going to inherit a throne (if he does) that will not be set on the firm rock of divine right, of band braying, and

beery patriotism. His father came to the throne amid such conditions, but Friedrich Wilhelm will not.

He is going to have to deal with the Germany that by the war is being made much more Socialistic than was the Germany just before the war. He is going to have to deal with a population which, when all exultation of patriotism is out of the way, will sit down and figure out how much poorer they are than before war came. It is a people who will mourn the loss of dear ones,—hopelessly asking the question, "What was it all for?" The German people will come to realize that big industry grew rich by the war while they were bled poor. They will see themselves as tools for capital—the Rhineland group. They will find themselves being compelled to bear the heavy burden of reconstruction, heavy taxes or no taxes, but certainly lower wages and lower living conditions.

I believe the Greeks called democracy Demos, that they personified him as a sleeping giant. Demos is going to wake up—as he woke up in France, as he woke up in England, as he woke up in America. He is going to realize his power and wonder why it is that he has been such a fool in Germany as to be enslaved. The Crown Prince is going to have to handle this spirit of democracy, which shows every sign of breaking loose in Germany. When the German mind is not saturated with the patriotic clamor of the hour, it is a restless mind, persistent after truth. The German philosophers show that. The Crown Prince is going to have to handle a ticklish situation, especially so since the Hohenzollerns cling to the mandate that they are responsible to God and only their own conscience for their acts.

From the way the Crown Prince has played his cards up to date, it would seem that he has rare foresight. Certainly, his every move has been to placate instead of antagonizing the mass of the German people. His every act of recent years has been toward making the people feel that he is a true Democrat. What a clever camouflage—to again fool the people. Consider the unostentatious family automobile in which he runs up and down the Linden. His trick of knowing personally his soldiers in the army—his newspaper inter-

views, that always make him out to weep over the suffering the war is causing his people. His trick of dining with shoemakers on their golden wedding days, of picking up peasants on the road and giving them a lift in the royal car. Compared to him are the American politicians, who love to catch up babies and kiss them in the presence of large crowds. His memory at remembering the name of a man who means absolutely nothing to him is equalled only by Theodore Roosevelt. Reducing it down to American political slang, the Crown Prince is a "hand shaker." But what a clever one! He is so infernally clever in playing to the German people—in bending them to his wishes, that he will be a more dangerous man on the throne of Germany than his father ever could be.

# COLONEL WILLIAM BOYCE THOMPSON—ALL AMERICAN

## Who Put His Services and Money Behind Russia's Democracy

By EDWIN WILDMAN

ONCE in a while there arises—or shall I say "descends"?—from the rarefied heights of "success" a man who remembers that he is a human being, and thus gains the normal aspects of the fellowship of men.

"'Success' gets them all," said to me a keen observer of human frailties. "When a fellow who was once just a regular human being makes a few millions and gets up among the 'Big Guns,' he generally forgets that the rest of us exist."

This is too often true. Success—big Success—puts a man on the defensive, and a man constantly on guard against his fellow men soon ceases to be "one of them." He becomes a self-centered egoist who in acting as a watch-dog of his own interests, gets out of key with the mass of mankind.

Colonel William Boyce Thompson, of Yonkers-on-Hudson, is one of the rare exceptions. He has attained success, the sort of Success that is spelled with a capital "S"—the sort of success that means the possession of millions, and the heavy duties of a man of many great and important affairs, yet Colonel Thompson is a "regular fellow" by all the best standards. He has not lost his grip on affairs to become a bystander in the pageant of life—not at all! He is very much a man of affairs in business, in politics, in philanthropy, and in finance, and yet, at the same time, he is a man with a big heart for his fellow men and with a purse that seems to automatically unclasp itself in the interests of humanity.

Colonel Thompson is "All American"—and we need that brand in this country—a straight thinker, a keen-eyed, open-minded man, who gets in touch with the heart throbs of every man who works and every man who fights.

Perhaps that is why they have played a "joke" on him and are boosting him for the Governorship of New York State. Colonel Thompson, erstwhile of Montana, brought to New York State and to the Nation many valuable ideas. He made his big "pile" in low-grade copper and has released considerable of that pile in high-grade human welfare and national patriotism.

A copper magnate, yet he made the important discovery that American labor is the sinews and backbone of America and is here to stay. He realizes that it must be accounted to, and that wealth is a temporary encumbrance which is not of any particular importance in the balance with human rights and human progress.

His second important discovery was that we Americans are a laboring business people, and that, as a natural consequence, government should be run on business principles; not by the agents of corporate wealth and labor, but by labor itself and by practical men who have come up through labor to its rightful leadership with business control.

### BUSINESS MEN NEEDED IN GOVERNMENT

"THIS is a principle that all political parties should adopt," says Colonel Thompson. "The Republican party was the party of the workers who had made good and wanted protection for the product of their labor. We should revert to first principles, and in our government seek business representation, not turn our administrations over to our lawyers who are trained to hold a brief for either side. Our great business enterprises in general have been built by men who were formerly laborers, and it is a mistake for them to send their lawyers to legislate for us and to govern us—we need business men in our halls of legislation, men who know the advanced needs of labor and the product of labor. Labor must have its share, and modern methods of big business are

in coalition with labor—but lawyers frequently do not understand, and are not in touch with the conditions that look to remedial legislation properly to meet the new conditions of American life, essential to preserve our Republican form of government."

Colonel Thompson is a bright new star in the service flag of Democracy. He has his eyes open to changing conditions. In the vortex of the Russian Revolution he visioned a new insight into the cry of the people for a betterment of conditions—a change which would yield to every one a greater part in the good things of life.

Commissioned a Lieutenant-Colonel and sent to Russia with the American Red Cross Mission, Colonel Thompson gained a knowledge of Russian character and of Russian political affairs that should be an asset to American diplomacy in dealing with that bewildered nation. He obtained an insight into the psychology underlying the Russian Revolution, and with it came a comprehension of the difficulties encountered by those remote from the scene in understanding a social upheaval not only political but economic in its character.

"The Tsar's autocratic control sought to impose its authority from above," he says. "The Soviet Government, on the other hand, has its roots in the masses; it comes up from below, and its political strength lies in the fact that its base rests upon local self-governing bodies. The Tsar's government was destroyed by taking away from it the support of the army. The Kerensky government collapsed when his Ministers in the Winter Palace were surrounded. To destroy the Soviet Government it will be necessary to destroy cohesion between the local Soviets, which constitute through their representatives the Central Russian Government.

"At the time the Soviets seized control of the Government they were dominated by the Bolsheviki, who immediately, with great activity, began to advocate their radical and impossible theories. As was naturally to be expected, the Soviets are finding out by experience that such theories will not work in practice, and as time goes on their proceed-

ings are characterized by a growing spirit of moderation. This amelioration of their earlier uncompromising attitude is partly influenced by the peasants, whose interests are tied up with the land, and who are beginning to take a larger share in the control. The Bolsheviki will pass—and with their passing, I believe, will come a more stable government. If the recovery is brought about by a process of evolution, all will be well, but if the change occurs by counter-revolution it will put Germany in control of Russia.

IN RUSSIA FOR THE RED CROSS

"In judging the Russian situation one must remember that their freedom came suddenly—by Revolution; and Revolution, as the word itself implies, is a period of rude and abrupt changes, in which many hasty and ill-considered acts are committed, giving every opportunity for radical theorists and irresponsible adventurers to exploit themselves. In this respect the history of all revolutions is the same. But as the storm subsides the inevitable forces of law and order resume their sway."

While in Petrograd Colonel Thompson gave active assistance to groups of Russian patriots who were trying to hold Russia in the war. These groups Colonel Thompson helped in their work of spreading a wide propaganda among over a hundred newspapers opposing the bestowal of power on the Soviet, which was gradually being dominated by the Bolsheviki leaders, who were early advocating a general armistice and peace with the Central Powers. He "chummed" with the great leaders of the Revolution—the leaders of long standing, not the opportunists of the moment—and gave powerful assistance to them in the work of sending forth lecturers and propaganda direct to the people, assuring them of the confidence and interest of the United States in their ideals and in their aspirations for democracy—but trying to make them understand that a democratic Russia cannot survive side by side with an autocratic Germany; that the land so much desired would not be theirs at all unless the Germans were overthrown; that they must stay

in the war and fight for a democratic victory, or else go back ultimately to an autocratic government again.

And while he was doing this he watched intently Kerensky's efforts at the coalition experiment, and as his knowledge of Russian Revolutionary psychology grew deeper, he came to see more and more clearly the weakness of the Kerensky regime. He saw the inevitable approaching, and he worked with feverish energy to make the critical situation clear to the people back home; to show them the imminence of the danger to the Allied cause, that he was working hard in Russia to prevent. He saw German propaganda, unopposed, impregnating the country like a snake's venom, and as the poison spread it paralyzed resistance to the monster lying in wait for its prey. Impatient at delay, in the face of such a situation, he put his hand in his own pocket and encroached heavily on his private fortune to keep Russian bayonets on the Eastern front.

Probably the world will never know one-half of the true story of his struggles there in behalf of Russia for his country's sake, his efforts to keep Russia together for the Allies, the discouragements that came to him through lack of understanding of the situation by all the Allies. Few even of his most intimate friends realized the deep personal sacrifices he was making, and his big-hearted charity. It was during those trying days from August 7th, when he reached Petrograd, until November 29th, when he left, that he learned the things which gave him his faith in the future of the Russians.

### SUMMARY OF THE RUSSIAN PROBLEM

HE did his best, and his "best" seems almost more than any other man could have done. Eagerly he purchased 500,000 roubles of the Russian Liberty Loan; freely he gave a million dollars from his private purse to help Russia and the cause of the Allies in Russia. The idea was to educate the Russians, to influence them to stay in the war; to prevent the overthrow of the coalition government and show the nation that it could only make democracy secure by fighting the autocracy of the Kaiser. Only a small handful of people

know the delays he met, of the disappointments that were his, of the hopes held out and suddenly dashed. While Germany was infesting every quarter of the country with her agents and spies, her propaganda and her unlimited capital, Colonel Thompson sought to counteract this and to hold Russia together for the Allies.

His problems in Russia were enough to stagger a congress of skilled statesmen, diplomats and financiers, and to face them practically alone was his task, to be unable to secure the prompt co-operation necessary, to see what he hoped to see achieved made possible at the crucial eleventh hour, were some of his many disappointments.

The Russian problems, at the time he volunteered to go there, were:

1. How to assist Russia and keep her actively fighting in the Entente Alliance.

2. Failing in No. 1, how to prevent Russia from making a separate peace.

3. Failing in Nos. 1 and 2, how to prevent Russia being used by Germany as the mightiest instrument in the world against the Allies.

In August, 1917, when he reached Petrograd, the situation was desperate, far more desperate than the public here could possibly realize. This situation he tried to make clear in his frequent cable reports to this country. He speedily got in touch with Kerensky and made it clear to him that while in Russia he was determined to do everything possible to assist that country in obtaining an orderly democracy that would be co-operative with democratic America.

Every prominent American in Russia was overjoyed at Colonel Thompson's presence, and cabled home to that effect. Every cable was practically of the same tone:

"Situation here critical. Thompson's plan of utmost importance to save situation."

Colonel Thompson was not working for the Red Cross alone, nor for Russia alone, but for his own country. The United States was in the war. Being "All-American," and grasping the situation with the thoroughness of a native, he

struggled with the great problem. He knew of the danger. On September 27th, he cabled to America: "We are living on a volcano."

### MAKING IT CLEAR TO LLOYD GEORGE

THEN came delays, and more delays, and still more delays. Great sums were needed quickly, but they never became available, and when help did come, it was too late. Reaction and German propaganda had sown dissolution, and the government, which was seeking to hold the soldiers in the trenches, fell. The Soviet took power. The result had been a loss all along the Western Front that billions could not replace. Some time, perhaps, the full history of Colonel Thompson's work will be written. When it is, it will place him higher than ever in public esteem. He never wavered, he never lost hope; he fought it out to the last and came back to the United States to urge that we should never abandon Russia, but oppose the Germans and extend aid to any government Russia might have so long as it was anti-German. He felt that the Soviet would last many months, and he wanted us to do everything to check the German advance eastward.

On his way back, Mr. Lloyd George in London asked him to describe the exact situation. Being a skilled lumberman, as well as miner, business man, financier, manufacturer, and investigator, the Colonel told England's Premier the situation in the language of a log-driver:

"The situation," he said to England's Prime Minister, "reminds me of a log drive at an American lumber camp. The skilled lumberman seeks to avoid getting his logs into the river before the water has reached high mark in the spring freshets, because if the water is still rising it throws the logs in upon the banks and leaves them there when the water lowers. The ideal method is to judge accurately the rising water, and at the first sign of falling, dump the logs in. The constantly lowering water draws the logs toward the middle and carries them off to the mill.

"Kerensky, unfortunately, vainly tried to handle his

' logs ' in a rising stream. His logs were law and order, the stream the constant increase in the demand of the masses of soldiers and workers for the complete exercise of power and the elimination of government."

Mr. Lloyd George was amazed and delighted at the Colonel's simile. It gave him the clearest understanding of the situation.

Back in America, just as before he left, Colonel Thompson evidenced his "All-Americanism" by plunging into everything that would help out the Government, that would speed up the war, that would in any manner prove beneficial to the country in general and to those who were doing their all for it, in particular. He accepted the Chairmanship of the Corporations Committee of the Red Cross, and that Committee raised more than twenty millions of dollars in the Second Red Cross Drive.

## "HIGH GRADE" THINKING

I HAVE said that Colonel Thompson made his "pile" in low grade copper, which is true, but he did not shovel it out of the mines in pure, rich ingots. He made his low grade copper bring him wealth by means of high-grade thinking.

"To shovel it into carts by manpower, and transport it by mule or horsepower will never pay," he declared.

"To move it by means of mechanical power at the lowest possible cost is the solution of this problem," he told his confreres, and he brought this about, acquired large interests in the Utah Copper Company, became a member of the Board of Directors, and made investigations that led him to Globe, Arizona, and to the development of the Inspiration property there.

"Thompson is wasting millions," people said when he was perfecting the organization of Inspiration. It did look that way. It cost $17,000,000 to do this.

"He will never get a cent of it back," the wiseacres declared. Colonel Thompson knew better.

Every cent of that expenditure of $17,000,000 was

cleared in the first year of operations! His success increased —he became more and more of a power in financial and industrial life.

He has been a Director of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York since its organization in 1914. He is also a Director of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and President of the Magma Arizona Railroad Company. This in addition to his directorships in both the Utah and the Nevada Consolidated Copper Companies, and his Presidency of Inspiration Copper Company. He was a Republican Elector in 1912, and a National Convention Delegate in 1916, while his mining, banking and manufacturing enterprises are varied and many, and all flourishing, which is due alone to his mastery in supervision, his intimate detailed and technical knowledge, his careful investigation, and his untiring executive ability.

His masterly handling of the great Inspiration copper mining enterprise, which he initiated and made a world-famous property, is an example of his painstaking, his patience, his determination to be sure he was right and that he possessed a knowledge of every fact and detail before going ahead. Then nothing could swerve him in his progress. He knew, after his research, that low-grade copper could be made exceedingly profitable if a way could be devised to handle mammoth tonnage at low cost, but he did not attempt to handle this grade of ore until he had first devised means of handling in paying quantities.

### PUT DAYLIGHT INTO THE DAYLIGHT-SAVING BILL

AND so it has been, all through his forty-nine years. He used his head, he used his common sense, his judgment acquired through years of hard work, study and straight thinking. It is due to Colonel Thompson that we are saving a million or more tons of coal this year, and preventing the paralysis of many important industries through a shortage of fuel, for he, as Chairman of the Westchester County Commission of Safety, got United States Senator William M. Calder to introduce the Daylight-Saving Bill, which became

a law early in the year. Shortly after the passage of this bill Senator Calder wrote:

> My Dear Colonel Thompson:
>
> I presume that you are pleased that you have added to your laurels by the passage of the Daylight-Saving Bill; so that in years to come, when other things are forgotten, you can say, "I am the man who started this movement in a practical way."

### SENDS WESTCHESTER SOLDIERS "PAPERS FROM HOME"

ONE day he learned that some of the Westchester County boys in training camps far from home were like school kids around a hokey-pokey cart, upon the arrival of a "paper from home." Such newspapers were few and far between.

"Tough luck!" exclaimed the Colonel, "when a boy has given up home comforts and all else and gone into the service of his country, if he can't even get the printed news about his home people." He gave thought to it, in his usual careful manner.

"I'll send every Westchester County boy who is serving in either the Army or the Navy a copy of whichever home paper he prefers!" exclaimed Colonel Thompson. And to-day wherever it is possible for the mails to deliver them, whether here or abroad, every Westchester County boy whose address he has been able to get hold of is getting the newspaper of his choice that tells about the people he knows, about the activities in and around his home. He did this by preparing a blank for the next of kin of each boy in service to fill out, giving name, rank, address, and name of paper probably desired. Also a blank to be used for keeping the addresses as that boy is moved about.

Fifty-seven newspapers are published in twenty-seven cities and towns in Westchester County. More than seven thousand of the "boys" soon will be getting them at Colonel Thompson's expense.

"I wish I were able to send every man in the service his home paper," declared the Colonel. But he has urged others who are able to do this, to follow his lead, and already

many are taking it up, so that not only do those seven thousand boys benefit directly through him, but a great many other thousands will shortly benefit indirectly through his example and his campaign to have others take up his "Home Paper Service," as he calls it.

Phillips Exeter Academy has always held a warm place in Colonel Thompson's heart. On Founder's Day in 1915 he suddenly remembered that day on October 8th. Founder's Day was October 9th. He found it impossible to go. Knowing that Thomas W. Lamont, Class of '88, would be present, he sent him a special delivery letter to be read at the exercises. This letter contained the Colonel's check for $100,000 for a swimming pool and gymnasium for his beloved Academy, and that was not half of what he finally contributed.

His home at Yonkers-on-Hudson is an object of interest to all visitors. It is a restful breathing spot, a soothing playground where he goes after the stress of his varied business interests. His flowers are famous. His Flower Show prizes are many. And he knows all about those flowers and how to grow them. That is his method—to be thoroughly acquainted with everything he undertakes.

It is the same with his mineral collection. He has the finest private collection of minerals, precious, and semi-precious stones in the world. This collection comes nearest to anything of being his hobby. When a little boy out in the rugged Montana Mountains he began to collect minerals, and in his collection today are many beautiful gems that he picked up when a youngster of twelve. He has personally collected a great many of these specimens, journeying to many parts of the world solely for the purpose of securing them with his own hands from their natural locations. This collection is kept in a guarded vault, so arranged by a marvelous system of lighting that every jewel and every mineral is set off to best advantage.

The Colonel was married in 1895 to Gertrude, daughter of Richard O. Hickman of Helena, Montana, and has one daughter, wife of Lieutenant Theodore Schulze of St. Paul.

Just how he manages to find time for sleeping or eating

with all of his interests seems puzzling. Almost any one of his enterprises would be sufficient to keep the average man as busy as he would care to be. Yet aside from his activities so briefly touched upon, the Colonel devotes much time to the welfare of his county.

He is vice-president of the Rocky Mountain Club of New York, and helped in securing an endorsement from his club of the Hoover Fund for the relief of the children in Belgium. He is a member of the Board of Managers of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, and is also a member of the Union League, Metropolitan, Columbia University, Hudson River County, Sleepy Hollow, Republican, and Ardsley Clubs, and a Fellow of the American Geographical Society.

Big, breezy, cheerful, open-hearted and unspoiled by great success, Colonel Thompson is, above everything else, all-American. Every successful man has his pet recipe for success. Colonel Thompson's is simple enough, to speak it, but it necessitates concentration and good hard work to put it in practice. It is:

"Patience. Persistence. Be sure that you know all about what you are going after, and why you are going after it, before you start out."

# OUR PARTNERS FOR LIBERTY

By HON. ROBERT LANSING
SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES

TO-DAY this Republic stands with the democracies of the earth arrayed in battle against the most relentless enemy of human liberty which the ages have produced. To save this country of ours and to save the civilized world from Prussianism has become the supreme duty of the American people and of all other peoples who love justice and freedom.

In this titanic struggle we are joined not only with France, our historic ally, but also with Great Britain, our ancient foe. On the blood-stained fields of France we three, together with Italy, Belgium, and Portugal, are standing shoulder to shoulder against the plunderers. Our traditional friendship for France, which can never be forgotten, and our traditional

enmity for Great Britain, which is forgotten, are swallowed up in this supreme crisis of liberty, our common heritage. The grave perils to our lives as nations unite us with bonds of steel as our armies face the foe of all mankind.

I am proud that in these terrible days we are associated with the tenacious warriors of Britain; I am proud that with our blood we can on French soil prove the affection which we cherish for the French people; I am proud that Italy, superb in her determined resistance, is our partner in this conflict, and that the indomitable spirit of the Belgians and Serbs is a living inspiration to gallant deeds and noble sacrifice. I am proud, as I know every American is proud, to be thus united with the nations which hate Prussianism and loathe the evil desires which it engenders in the hearts of men.

Convinced of the righteousness of our cause and of our destiny, let us make war with all our energy. Let us keep our banners unfurled and our trumpets sounding to battle until victory is achieved.

# BOY SOLDIERS OF THE SOIL

## The Hundred Thousand Boys Who Are Helping With Our Crops This Year

By WALTER P. McGUIRE

[MANAGING EDITOR "THE AMERICAN BOY"]

A HUNDRED thousand boys are on farms this summer, serving their country as truly as are those other "boys," but a few years older, who are wearing uniforms of the Army or Navy. These are not farmers' sons, but inexperienced boys from cities, towns and villages who have enrolled to help cultivate and harvest our crops.

Despite their inexperience the result of their summer labors will mean food for a million men for half a year, millions of dollars in profits to the farmers and the release of laborers so greatly needed in other occupations.

More than half of the 200,000 boys who enrolled for this work were sent out on the farms, only the physically fit boys above 16 being accepted. These fellows are just too old to be boys, not quite old enough to be men; too old for the khaki of the Boy Scouts, not old enough for the khaki of the Army. They are in their upper teens—upper teens fighting the good fight for Uncle Sam. They are taking a big part in our National life, a big part in the war itself, these members of the United States Boys' Working Reserve.

It is a sensible and beneficial plan, beneficial to the country and the boys alike, organized by the United States Department of Labor in co-operation with the United States Department of Agriculture, endorsed by the President, all of the war leaders and state governors and directed by conscientious men of proved ability.

Parents are encouraging their boys to join. Business men are encouraging them too. The President of the Detroit Board of Commerce, a big employer, addressing a mass meeting of older boys in the Board's auditorium, told them: "Ordinarily, boys, we are glad to have you come into our stores and factories for work in the summer vacation, for we need you, but we don't want you in such jobs this year. Your place is on the farms. There you can serve your country best. If you fellows don't do the farm work, the women will have to do it." Industrial leaders all over the country are talking the same way. It is an indication of how wide is the recognition of the supreme importance of the older boys doing *this* kind of war work.

This situation and this prospect are so familiar that they require no argument or emphasis. It is not so clear, however, what other results will come from the enrollment of boys for farm work in vacation time.

### MORE THAN WAGES AND HEALTH

FARM work will give the boy not only wages, not only health and strength. It will give him an understanding which he cannot obtain otherwise of the people who form almost a majority of our population—of the character of those people, their social condition, their school and home problems, their patriotism, their political ideals, their personal aspirations. This will vitalize sociology, as a school subject, for the boy, and will be of benefit to him whatever his life work may be.

The marvelous processes of nature, seen through a season on the farm, will mean more to him than several years of book study of nature. Every item in his physiography will gain significance. Economics students will gain knowledge, at first hand, of America's fundamental industry; such terms as production, marketing, speculation, supply and demand, wages, prices, by-products, transportation, will have a very definite meaning.

Moreover, the experience will give him a rich heritage —the everlasting memory of days close to nature—of brilliant

sunrises over a lovely land, of the vast quiet of open places, of gorgeous sunsets at the end of days spent in the best of endeavors, that of helping to fill a primary need of man. And it may, probably will, develop in him an understanding and love of animals, of rivers, of birds, of the very earth itself, to which he might, probably would, remain a stranger through life but for his summer on a farm.

But, more concretely, think what it will mean to the boy just to know how to saddle a horse, to hitch up a team, to plow straight, to run a mower, and to see and play a part in that grand drama of the farm—harvesting and threshing.

There will be time for sport—and the finest playground in the world will be all about him. Swimming in the creek or lake, fishing, riding horseback, pitching horseshoes with the neighbors—nights of deep, sound, strengthening sleep, and up in the morning feeling as though he could carry a whole football team on his back. . . And to bed at night feeling as though he had!

It won't be child's play. His comrade under arms didn't go into the war because it was *easy*. The boy wouldn't shame him by thinking that he did. He went into it because it was the right thing to do. The boy who goes into farm service for his country will go for the same reason. It is the only way to put it up to him. So put up, boys respond eagerly—sons of the rich as eagerly as sons of the poor.

The patriotic purpose makes rough places smooth—and from this labor will come that satisfaction which comes from the doing of one's national duty in a time of national trial—a satisfaction that will endure in the boy and in all who love him.

When the boy of today is a man and has boys of his own, they're going to ask him questions about the Great War. One of the questions will be, "Were you in it?" It will not suffice to say that he was too young to bear arms—in that war in which *everybody* had to fight. How glad he will be if he possesses the bronze badge of the Reserve, with its pendant bar inscribed "Honorable Service—1918"—evidence to all the world that he responded when his coun-

try called. . . . How ashamed he will be if he has to tell his children that he did nothing—and how disappointed they will be in him!

Such are the valid arguments presented to boys and their parents in this unusual crusade. Everywhere boys are enrolling—thousands upon thousands of them. The school authorities, as a rule, have been quick to see not only the economic need but the educational advantages of the plan and have made arrangements that permit the "soldier of the soil" to leave school when needed on the farm—in most places around May 1—without losing his scholastic standing. Some school boards, indeed, have appropriated money to employ men teachers throughout the summer to visit regularly the boys on the farms, to see to it that the working and living conditions are not detrimental and that the boy does for the farmer an honest job. Where school men are not employed, volunteers will do this supervision work—bankers, merchants, lawyers, pastors, Y. M. C. A. men. The Government's plan for the protection of the boy is thorough. That is one reason why the educational advantages are so great.

### TRAINING BOYS FOR THIS SERVICE

THE adaptability of the American to unusual demands of an extraordinary situation is illustrated by the quick organization of new instruction methods for these recruits. In more than a majority of the high schools of all agricultural states rudimentary courses in agriculture have been introduced. For these classes the Department of Agriculture and the state agricultural colleges have prepared and published special bulletins which give instruction on the material and equipment of a farm and how to use them, the common processes of farming (the chores, feeding and care of horses, cattle and pigs; care of the harness, plowing, disking, making the seed bed, sowing, planting, cultivating, etc.).

But they give something more which is of especial importance to the farmer, in a dollar and cents way, and to the boy educationally. They give plain, common-sense, straightforward counsel on the attitude of the boy toward his job and

his employer. For example, a bulletin written for the Boys' Working Reserve in Illinois, and used in other states, tells the boy:

> Don't get "cocky" when you have learned a few things. There is nearly always a better way than the one you have learned.
>
> Guard against abuse or damage to any animals, machinery, or other equipment of the farm.
>
> Do all in your power by forethought, and hard work, to *prevent* losses to your employer, whether of equipment or of crop. Preventing loss, avoiding waste, are even more important than production itself.
>
> Keep things "picked up." Know where things belong, and if you use a wrench or other tool, clean it after using it and put it back in its place. Keep doors and gates shut and do not expect others to pick up after you, to do your work, or to inquire whether you have fed the pigs.
>
> Do what you can to win the confidence of your employer.
>
> Accept responsibility, and having accepted it, do not break down. The common failing is unwillingness to accept and carry responsibility, and the next most common failing is inability through previous thoughtlessness.
>
> Your faithfulness and efficiency must not depend upon your wages. Whatever your pay, you owe it to everybody, yourself included, to do your best.
>
> Be clean, physically, morally and mentally. Only clean men can carry heavy responsibilities without breaking down.
>
> Be considerate of all the courtesies due your employer, not only in a business way upon the farm, but in a social way while in his house as a member of his family. Do not track in mud. Do not talk too much. You owe it to yourself as well as to the household and the community to be a gentleman always.
>
> Be a real member of the community you enter. Don't look down upon nor up to others of your own age, but be a good fellow in the best sense of the term. So shall you avoid being either a Prig or a Dub.

What better "education" than this could a boy get in school—or in Sunday school?

YOUNG SOLDIERS OF THE SOIL

THE Reserve's instruction program doesn't stop with "book farming" and counsel on conduct. In Chicago, Detroit, Kansas City, Boise, Denver—in nearly every city, in fact—the enrolled boys are taken in small groups to farm machinery factories or salesrooms where a practical man not only shows them how to operate farm machines but lets them run them; not only tells the boys how the machines are made but lets them take the contrivances apart and put them together again. And they go further with these classes: on certain days they let the boys do all the work, in relays, at the stables of companies using many teams—the feeding, watering, currying, harnessing, hitching and bedding of the horses.

Now it is to be remembered that these "soldiers of the soil" are not the casual day-workers who so often drift onto the farms in season—men who have no particular qualification, of education or experience, for agricultural work, who may have worked for years at other jobs, their habits already fixed, their versatility, their adaptability, low. The "boy" comes with almost every qualification—the strength of youth, and youth's resilience; the enthusiasm that is peculiar to the boy; an eagerness to learn and a mind that has done little but learn for years and is free from prejudices and preconceptions; perhaps experience in athletics which has taught him, without his knowing it, the value and the benefits of "team play"—cooperation; and, not the least, a tremendous incentive to do his utmost which arises from the patriotic impulse that prompted him to volunteer for "war work" of this particular kind.

To be sure, "boys" are not as strong as men—as some men—but the boys of the Boys' Working Reserve are all over 16, many are near 20, not a few are trained athletes in good "condition." The enrolling officers make every effort to eliminate those who are not physically fit for the hard work of the farm. No one can see these enrolled boys, as I have seen them, hundreds of them in many cities, can fail to remark their stalwartness. Such strength as they have, coupled

with the other qualities mentioned, if properly employed, will mean food for millions—and millions of dollars to American farmers.

The only uncertainty seems to lie in the attitude of the farmer. "Conservative" as he is—or, rather, not accustomed to accommodating himself to changed conditions and new "tools"—he has been slow to do his part in this crusade upon which so much depends. Reserve officials in all states have been trying for months to ascertain which farmers will need "hands" in the spring, and how many, but the farmers have not responded. They were incredulous: heretofore they just sent to employment agencies in the cities and asked for men when they wanted them, and men came. It has been almost impossible for them, in their isolation from the tremendous movements of war, to realize that when they call this year, men will *not* come—that there are no men *to* come.

### WISE FARMERS WANT THE BOYS

THE danger is that they will awaken to the situation too late; that, when laborers do not appear, they will have to leave this "forty," or that "sixty," or the "eighty" over the creek, unplanted. Unplanted forties, sixties, eighties all over the country will mean an enormous loss of food. They have shied at "boy labor." No, sir, they don't want to have a kid bothering around—they haven't time to teach a know-nothing. And, in, addition, there has been an everlasting haggling on wages.

But in some places great headway has been made—headway that is so encouraging as to presage the entire success of the Reserve's farm plan—next year, if not this year. Two circumstances are especially favorable. Nearly every farmer who employed a boy of the Reserve in the short experiment made last year, called for one or more boys this spring. Farmers who have seen and talked with enrolled boys and seen their work in instruction classes in the cities have been enthusiastic about the prospect and many of them have gone back to their home districts and spread the news, creating a real "demand" for Reserve boys. A good record by the

boys this year—by the majority of them; of course some, being not only boys but boyish, will "flunk out"—will remove all existing prejudice. Then we will have added at least a quarter of a million men—possibly half a million—to our "fighting line."

And beyond this "fighting," beyond the education of the boy referred to, there will be a gain immeasurable—the gain that will come from the mingling in this way of folks of the country with folks of the town—a better understanding of the true character of each "set of folks," of their alikeness in fundamentals, of their kindred, inseparable interests and problems both of business and of politics.

# TEARS

By LEONIE DAVIS COLLISTER

I ONLY wish to weep.
Perhaps my tears may cool the scorch
Of those hot winds
That life has pressed against my soul;
Perhaps, through weeping,
I may see the rainbow of some dream.
One tear may catch a gleam of light,
And set a star against the dusk.

# IS TOBACCO ESSENTIAL?

## WE ARE ABOLISHING ALCOHOL—WHAT ABOUT TOBACCO?

NOTE: *In this symposium, the FORUM, following its symposium on "Can Man Live Without Drink," presents the views of a number of eminent physicians and psychologists on the question "Is Tobacco Essential?" Tobacco is being used in enormous quantities, especially by the nation's fighting men. Is it an aid to the spirit, a stimulant, harmless in proper use?*

### *"Have a Cigar?" an Avenue to Sociability*

By SIMON BARUCH, M.D.

(*Famous Surgeon and Author, in practise since* 1862)

"IS Tobacco Essential?" I would reply in the negative, if you mean that it is indispensable to health and life. The same may be said of alcohol. Men may live without either. But when you ask "Is tobacco an aid to the spirit, harmless in proper use to the human system?" I would answer in the affirmative, just as I would with regard to alcohol.

The difference, however, is very great in that when alcohol is used improperly or in excessive doses it is certain to produce disease and death; whereas this cannot be said of even the improper use of tobacco. I have seen in a practice of over half a century many men made very ill and some die from the excessive use of alcohol. I have seen but few men made ill, very few made very ill, and only one, an alcoholic, in whom tobacco has borne a large share in producing the lethal result. I have rarely had occasion to advise a patient to stop smoking moderately.

I am a non-smoker, because my first attempt at smoking a pipe was made at the age of nineteen and the usual distressing effect deterred me from repeating it. I have regretted it in later years, because I have observed the beneficent effects of the moderate use of tobacco among my asso-

ciates and patients. "Have a cigar?" is a frequent avenue to sociability. This I have often missed in my intercourse with men.

"Tobacco is a weed that calms but not harms." In the Civil War I served three years in active campaigns. I have been a prisoner of war twice. I have spent many lonely hours in country practice, riding miles by day and by night. When I look back upon those days I realize, by comparison with what I have observed in others, how much comfort and satisfaction a good smoke would have given me.

So far as the "health and fighting spirit of our men over there" is concerned, I would say that the moderate use of tobacco will surely enhance it. I know no agent which produces more calmness to perturbed nerves. In the army the use of tobacco may much more readily be controlled than in civil life. For this reason I would urge those who would give pleasure, comfort and restoration from great fatigue and nerve-rack to send our boys tobacco.

### *Cigars Spoil Shooting Score*

By IRVING FISHER, PH.D.

(*Professor of Political Economy, Yale University*)

THERE seems to be no question as to the harmful effects of the "excessive" use of tobacco. As to its moderate use, it cannot truthfully be said that such use will do more than moderate damage. Most people will not indulge in tobacco sufficiently to cause a definite case of "tobacco heart," but some damage is done long before that state.

A series of experiments conducted in several different psychic fields among students who smoked showed a marked loss of mental efficiency immediately after the period of smoking was completed. Experiments in the effect of smoking on rifle shooting show that even one cigar spoils the shooting score about fifteen per cent. These results, as well as the results of similar experiments, are very significant for everyone. They especially bring into very serious doubt the popular idea that tobacco in the trenches helps steady the

nerves of the soldier in his aim and constitute strong evidence to the contrary.

I am not prepared, without further study, to advocate the total and immediate abstinence from tobacco by those in the trenches who have long been addicted to the habit; I most certainly would not advocate that they should be prohibited from using tobacco. To them it has come to be regarded as a solace and they overlook the nervous reaction involved. But those soldiers and sailors who do not already smoke should be urged not to acquire the habit and those who do smoke should be cautioned to exercise moderation. They have a right to know what smoking will do to their nerves and hearts.

The line separating "excessive" from "moderate" is always an elusive boundary, and my personal conclusion after some study of the subject is that it behooves the man who wishes to keep physically fit to omit tobacco from his daily schedule, whether he is at home or in the trenches.

### *Tobacco Better Than Alcohol*

By WILLIAM A. WHITE

(*Superintendent of the United States Government Hospital for the Insane*)

NO, tobacco is not essential. The so-called tobacco habit, like alcohol and drug habits, has a psychological foundation, but the tobacco in itself is not nearly so injurious as either the average drug, such as morphine or alcohol. Like them, it has a margin of usefulness in promoting social contacts, but is much less harmful, and therefore there is not the same necessity for agitating against its use. The moderate use of tobacco by a healthy adult probably has no appreciable effect upon his general health. The same thing might be said about the use of tobacco in general by those who have no special idiosyncrasy for it. I mean especially the people who are not made nervous, fidgety and sleepless by it. These people are made decidedly uncomfortable and probably should not use tobacco. Other persons, especially those who are

more or less soothed and quieted by it, are probably not appreciably harmed. Here again, as with the drug users and the alcoholics, it is only those of poor personality make-up who indulge extremely and who are appreciably injured.

### *Don't Abolish Tobacco*

By G. STANLEY HALL

(*President of Clark University*)

OF course a man can live without tobacco; but I would very seriously object to having it abolished. Moreover, smoking is so common in the camps, and has been approved by so many military authorities, that this is not the time to even raise this question.

As for myself, I learned smoking relatively late in life, but am certain that it has done me good. A cigar after the hearty meal, in the first place, generally means more or less repose. One does not work intensely the first half-hour after dinner, if one smokes. Moreover, for temperaments like mine, it acts as a sedative. I have done more and better work since I began to smoke, and I have repeatedly left off for weeks at a time to see if I could note any difference for the worse, but have always failed to do so. The cigarette habit for young boys is in every way bad; but for those engaged in very strenuous out-of-door work,—and, I am inclined to add, for a certain type of brain worker,—it is a good thing. I am familiar with the physiological experiments which show the more or less toxic effects of nicotine, but there are mild poisons in many things that we eat, and these experiments are, in my judgment, by no means conclusive argument against it.

I am a strong advocate of moderate smoking for elderly men. Several of my acquaintances have begun to smoke at my suggestion, and in every case their experience has been like mine. Temperance is essential, but total abstinence here for all is folly. That it is urged is a good instance of Americanitis, which finds extremes always easiest and feels the safe middle way to be dangerous.

### *No Time to Campaign Against Tobacco*

By CHARLES W. ELIOT

(*President Emeritus of Harvard University*)

TOBACCO is certainly not an essential. The European races got along pretty well without it until after the middle of the sixteenth century. It is incredible that the habitual absorption into the human body of so powerful a poison as nicotine should be harmless. There is no doubt, however, that the use of the drug gives a physical gratification of the kind called narcotic. The common enjoyment of tobacco by soldiers is evidence that it is a solace for unnatural excitements and fatigues. In all probability it can be more safely used by men who live a rough life out of doors than by sedentary people. Its use among students, scholars and professional men in general is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, after a long period of observation, invariably injurious.

The present moment does not seem to me a good time to start a campaign against tobacco.

### *Should Be Considered a Drug*

By EUGENE LYMAN FISK, M.D.

(*Medical Director, Life Extension Institute*)

THIS question may be answered in the negative even more emphatically than in the case of alcohol. Tobacco is a comparatively recent addition to man's devices for evading a square stand-up fight with his environment. Before the middle of the sixteenth century the use of tobacco was confined to the American Indian. Some people, who have linked the downfall of Russia to prohibition, might by a parity of reasoning link the downfall of the American Indian to tobacco, the reasoning being equally silly in either case.

In the seventeenth century smokers' noses were cut off in Russia, but that did not prevent smoking from becoming a national indulgence. These historical references enable us to say positively that tobacco is not essential to the health, happiness and well-being of humanity—that is, civilized humanity—inasmuch as humanity managed to get along without it prior to the sixteenth century.

The question as to whether tobacco contributes anything

worth while to the mental or physical well-being of mankind is a different matter and one that reasonable men can debate. If man had no psychic life we might say unreservedly that tobacco is a poison and wholly without merit. It is quite evident, however, from the large consumption of tobacco that men find some form of mental satisfaction in its use, some escape from life strain, and the question for the hygienist to consider is whether the cost paid for such indulgence is too high and whether tobacco, like other drug indulgences, does not contribute to enfeeble the will power and deter men from seeking constructive rather than destructive agencies for the relief of life strain.

Tobacco does not produce visible intoxication except in its initial use, when it frequently causes nausea and palpable symptoms of intense poisoning. This intoxication is quite different from that of alcohol and does not lead to the collateral vicious indulgences that characterize alcoholic excess.

Tobacco must be considered more as a drug *per se*. Those who use it are entitled to know the full extent of its drug effects. It is quite possible that the present tremendous increase in the use of tobacco may be fraught with more harm than alcoholic indulgence because of the very insidious nature of its influence. Tobacco is being showered upon our soldiers with no word of warning as to its ill effects. That tobacco may be permissible simply as a drug indulgence under trying conditions of battle and war strain may be conceded by men who object to its use under ordinary circumstances.

Major Lelein, of the British Army Medical Corps, whose work on military hygiene is a text book in our Army Medical Schools, states, regarding soldiers on the march: "Smoking should be forbidden, because it causes thirst, tremor and rapid heart, muscular relaxation, loss of visual acuity, and shortness of wind." He speaks of its mild narcotic effects when used in moderation—for example, two pipefuls a day—and that its soothing effect may then be beneficial.

Another military authority, Captain John Parkinson of the Royal Army Medical Corps, after experiment and investigation reports that his observations show "that in health the

smoking of a single cigarette by an habitual smoker usually raises the pulse rate and blood pressure perceptibly, and these effects are a little more pronounced in cases of 'soldier's heart.' Moreover, the smoking of a few cigarettes can render healthy men more breathless on exertion and manifestly does so in a large proportion of these patients." He concludes that while cigarette smoking is not the essential cause of "soldier's heart," it is an important contributory factor. ("Soldier's heart" has been a frequent cause of discharge in the British Army.)

Other observations are those of Dr. George J. Fisher, which have shown the deleterious effect of tobacco on blood pressure, accuracy in athletic work and rifle shooting. If tobacco indulgence during the terrible strain of active warfare prevents the soldiers from going insane or from succumbing to the nervous strain, these other considerations may have little weight as compared to such a gain, but we believe that the soldier should be warned of the danger of establishing the tobacco habit under ordinary circumstances and we strongly protest against any propaganda for fastening upon this nation the tobacco habit at a time when the burden of alcoholism is about to be lifted.

There is enough nicotine in the average cigar to kill a man if he should swallow it. Continual puffing of such a deadly poison is no laughing matter. We must carefully distinguish between the immediate emergency need that the soldiers may have for tobacco in time of stress and the need of the average citizen or soldier under ordinary circumstances. The underlying fallacy in all such indulgences is the theory that escape from life strain can only be found in some destructive practice, some drug effect.

### *The Least Harmful of Narcotics*

By JAS. J. WALSH, M. D.

(*Fellow N. Y. Academy of Medicine, Member of Staff of Various Famous Hospitals*)

TOBACCO is different from whiskey inasmuch as it is a mild narcotic, though undoubtedly in the quantities in which it is now being used it is distinctly harmful, especially

when taken into the system so directly as it is by inhalation. Its history shows what little use there is of legislation against it. It was introduced into Europe as a remedy for most of the ills that older people are subject to. The discoverers and explorers noted how vigorous the Indians were and noted also that they all smoked. It was argued that tobacco must have something to do with it, and on the strength of that conclusion the use of tobacco began in the European countries. Church and State both legislated against it, medical authorities insisted on its harmfulness, but the use of it continued to spread. Millions of dollars are now spent on it every year just because it produces a certain sense of well-being for which men are quite willing to pay. It probably does more harm by keeping men inside to enjoy their smoke when they might otherwise be in the open air than by any direct injury. Until we can provide some means of forgetfulness of the hard things of life by real intellectual diversion, for recreation is almost exclusively a bodily function now, it will be hopeless to expect to reform the tobacco situation. The human mind must have some refuge from the sordid compelling material and it finds it in narcotics. Tobacco is probably the least harmful of them.

# HOW'S BOSTON NOW?

By W. DE WAGSTAFFE

WHEN that first ocean greyhound, the "*Mayflower*," cast anchor off the New England coast, the Massachusetts savage spied the home-spun, blue-stocking with a perplexed but rude eye. Those were in the romantic days of the early Pilgrim, before Boston was the forum of culture it subsequently became. Today it is not the same cozy, lamp-lit abode of the librarian that it once was. The sensitive bookworm species has been trodden under by the stout New England shoe industries; the haughty assurance of Harvard has been bumped into plainer conception of the Harvard graduate by the common people; every one talks about things that only the elect in Boston talked formerly.

It is very perplexing to one who has always regarded Boston as a defiant hotbed of culture, tea, and total indifference to outward appearances. To be sure, Boston still looks like the inconsequential, beloved old soothsayer of a city that it has been since, in the days of our youth, we admired the fresh, plump, clear-eyed Puritan damsels one saw on Boylston Street, and made room for the intellectual, shaggy old ladies and gentlemen who seemed to challenge in their appearance and their rock-ribbed stiffness the good character of anyone not born in Boston. The houses still cling to that old-fashioned habit of bulging themselves out upon one, the landmarks of the town's revolutionary pioneers, still defy the world to question the principles of liberty they commemorate.

It is recorded that Mr. Balfour's visit to Boston was not triumphant, that the memories of Paul Revere, John Parker and the Boston Tea Party were inconspicuously avoided as the proud signs of New England prosperity. I asked a stern, prim, middle-aged matron what kind of a reception Mr. Balfour had in Boston. She assumed the mildest air of frankness, looked gently at me, and said that they were so excited over the visit of General Joffre that she did not remember

when he arrived or how he left Boston. Among the battle flags of the Revolution preserved with other precious relics of Massachusetts at the State House in Boston is the one of green silk with a gold harp upon it. It was shown to me with repressed pride by a man named Horrigan, the strong-arm man of the Governor's staff. He had not had the pleasure of showing Mr. Balfour these relics, because the distinguished Englishman did not visit the State capitol.

## "THE HEART AND BRAINS OF IRELAND"

PERHAPS all this would seem unimportant to the theme we have in mind if it did not substantiate the fact that Boston today is the heart and the brains of Ireland. It is a city with a strong Irish sting in it, with a prevailing pertness of coquetry in the women, with a grim solemnity of humor and chin-length in its men. So closely woven into the Irish fabric of its ancestors are the incidents of American history that the American flag is of course the Bostonian flag. Still, one cannot escape the tremendous impression that the Irish character, with its fearlessness, its obstinacy, and its humor, is the prevailing temperament of Boston today. Something of the old-time aristocracy of Boston has disappeared, has been swallowed up in the opportunities which the common people have finally seized through the war emergencies that have needed them. It is not an intellectual Boston, it is a muscular Boston that presides over the destinies of the overpopulated State of Massachusetts.

The shopping streets still bear the same relation that other Main Streets bear to any country town. They are filled with the pastoral and the pastured. With their strange little bags the women from the rural districts pour into Boston at the South Station in the morning, invade the department stores and the bargain counters like a battalion bent on destruction, and pour out again at night loaded down with cheap merchandise. Most of them bring their bread and cheese with them from the farm, eating their midday meal wherever they happen to be at the proper time. Their dissipation is an ice cream soda and their reward a good old

gossipy time when they get home. This is what one sees on Tremont Street, on Washington Street.

The ill-lighted, stuffy restaurants down town, where the food was once nationally famous, are still filled at noon-time with hungry men, but the food is no longer epicurean or plentiful. Boston is proud of its traditions, and refuses to improve its Colonial discomforts. The hotel lobbies of these downtown landmarks have neither been widened, stretched or lengthened. Their lights are just as dim, their waiters as haughty, their crowds as fishy-looking as ever. Boston used to be a famous place to sell green goods. Mining stock, good or bad, always found a market, and one still sees these mining experts sitting around these hotel lobbies, prospecting. At the lunch-hour the downtown streets are lined with clerks who watch the parade of girl stenographers with all the outward manner of their prototypes, the corner grocery ornaments.

From the midst of this modernized crowd of Bostonian culture rise the spires of those famous churches where the ancestors of the commonwealth of Massachusetts gained their great force of character. The historical values of these places have been jealously guarded, but it is doubtful if they are appreciated by the new generation that surrounds them. They are principally Lutheran churches, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, while the prevailing faith of Boston today is Roman Catholic. They are graceful recollections of a Puritan ancestry that is fast dying out.

### THE BOSTON WOMAN UNCHANGED

THE blue-stocking is being replaced by the green. It must be regretfully admitted that Boston women still dress outrageously. They seem to do it purposely, defiantly, with a deliberate intention to camouflage the beauties bestowed upon them by the gods. Their shoes are shapeless and roomy, their skirts wander vaguely in search of a waistline, their shirt waists are home-made. The Boston woman's hat is an invention of some fiend who desires to destroy any good looks she may have. She seems to buy her hats as if they were

wheat cakes, crullers, or cabbages. Of course, there are modifications to this rule, but we are dealing with Boston as a whole, not with Boston as a social center. It is not that any longer.

The timidity with which the Boston suburbanite adopts metropolitan habits is rather painful to see. In that famous old inn on Washington Street, which some people believe was opened by Adam, there is a pathetic little Peacock Alley, where the scattered remnants of suburban families who have come to Boston on different trains during the morning hope to meet. In the interests of respectability, the lights are very low. It is difficult to recognize a friend for that reason. On the single sofa they line-up, scarcely daring to raise their eyes for fear this dissipated half hour when they are left entirely alone in the great city should be misunderstood. When they finally meet and saunter in to the pure white dining-room for a taste of pork and beans, it takes them quite a little while to recover from the excitement.

At night, when the horrors of the movies have been thoroughly enjoyed and the theatre crowds pour out into the streets, the laws of Boston compel you to go straight home. The subway is locked at twelve o'clock. Those who live several miles from the theatre section, and nearly everybody does, are compelled to hire a taxi at a far greater rate than New York City. Why the subway is closed at midnight is not explained. On moral grounds it seems difficult to understand; on any other grounds it is inexcusable. By half past twelve the streets of Boston are deserted, the lights are out, and the town is closed.

The Boston Common has been converted since the war into an open air war demonstration. The Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., the Salvation Army, all the "good influences" have their little cottages, their rest rooms, their recruiting stations, their singing quarters. Boston being an enormous naval station, one sees a great number of sailors. These cottages are built like bungalows, with attractive little porches where the sailors line up and hum sea songs of some rollicking nature that is very salty. One exhibit shows you

exactly the Puritan idea of how a self-respecting hen should be brought up. The place where she lays her eggs is regulated for her. If she laid it in any other part of the enclosure it is too awful to think what would happen to her. She is surrounded by printed signs of how she should conduct herself. The place where she eats is labeled, the place where she drinks has a tag over it. Her boudoir where she sleeps is restricted and explained with a printed sign. Her cottage has a roof over it, although I heard an expert roofing man who was examining it closely, with true Bostonian curiosity, say that it wouldn't stand bad weather. Next door to the hen department was a cooking cottage. In the windows were exhibited the things that were cooked. They may have been interesting to look at, but insufficient for feeding purposes. A Bostonian cow looks scornfully out over the Boston Common demonstrating the qualities of lactal hygiene.

### RESPONDED LOYALLY TO WAR

OF course, Bunker Hill, Fanueil Hall (called "Funel"), the renowned State House, and other famous spots in National history have not added or lost one whit of their tradition. Even the war has failed to entice them into any added war virtues. No Allied flags adorn Bunker Hill, and the paintings in the State House of Paul Revere's ride, of the Stamp Act scene, the Battle of Lexington, are sacred emblems of a remote history which the present war has not disturbed. Historically, Boston is unchanged, and though the people of Boston have responded loyally to the war, they are equally loyal and proud of their Revolutionary memories.

The Public Gardens are still flagrantly neglected by the people, although they are the one charming breathing spot close to the aristocratic Commonwealth Avenue. Here the romantic foreigner spends a quarter and takes his girl for a boat ride, where in the moonlight they sit silently, and drift and dream. There are no indications of war here. There is only the fragrance of lilacs, the exquisite foliage, and the swans on the water.

Commonwealth Avenue is under a strict régimé of econ-

omy. It is here that the rich and cultured reside, at least those who are not on Beacon Hill. Many of the houses are closed, and those that are open have service flags hanging from their windows. There is an air of suppressed solemnity about this street, as if the occupants were waiting for bad news. Commonwealth Avenue has changed its aristocratic identity in the last fifteen years. Innumerable apartment houses have grown up and some of the fashionable residences have become high-class boarding-houses. Unlike Fifth Avenue, however, stores have not invaded this beautiful boulevard street. It stretches many miles through the city and towards the end of its long reach it becomes an avenue of the same character as Harlem in New York.

The élite of Boston, the select company that one time had more culture than money, has become a small clique. The commercial skill of the Boston man has imposed the word "prosperity" into the cultured character of the former Bostonians. The great manufacturing industries of New England, and they abound in Massachusetts, have developed the money aristocracy in Boston as in other great cities of the United States. Large war contracts have, of course, invaded the simplicities of former labor conditions, and there have been occasional strikes, due entirely to the prosperous character of war emergencies. Not that this prosperity has been the result of war profiteering, but that the people themselves, who were formerly remotely content with their uneducated lot, have discovered that their muscular value is greater than their intellectual value, and worth more than they realized before.

### MODESTLY AND SINCERELY GAVE HER SAVINGS

THE so-called fashionable hotels, where the palatial marble corridors and tapestried corners were supposed to contribute to the happiness of one's spirit, rely almost entirely for their business upon out-of-town trade. The real Bostonian, born with a sense of thrift that is superior to that of other Americans, is never without money, but, whereas before the war he spent it on certain social amenities of his

code, today he saves it for war demand. During the Red Cross drive there was no solicitation on the streets of Boston, or in the theatres, or in the stores, to the extent that existed in New York. It was not necessary to tell the Bostonian that he must give money to help the war. He just went quietly to his bank, or she went secretly to her homespun sock, and there was no spectacular pride in giving. Boston never did have much use for spectacular ideas. They never cared much to look like millionaires, but they were very careful to save their money. This splendid achievement of thrift has made Boston's contribution to the war a real sacrifice, modestly and sincerely made. One might say the pleasure with which the Bostonians have contributed their savings and their wages to the National Government has been the most patriotic example to the whole country.

Up on Beacon Hill, where the gold dome of the Capitol crowns the dignity of the Commonwealth, its political inspiration is not in support of men, but in support of National purposes. The Governor's flag in his Executive Office bears upon its white surface the figure of an Indian. It is singularly symbolic of the will of the people of Boston as well as of Massachusetts, because the Indian had in his heart ideals, not politics. There is a strain in the stability of National loyalty in the acts and the feeling of the men in the Legislature and in the service of the people in the State House, that is splendidly remote from political ambition. Since the war has been adopted by the National Government, impelled immensely by the private will of the people themselves, Boston has been welded into one mould of purpose, and that is to support the National Government. The officials in charge of the war interests of the people in the State House refer their personal or private interests to the will of the Federal Government.

Before the war Boston was the academic centre of American life. Harvard alone had not accomplished this distinction. Boston grew up, from a stern parentage of Puritan discipline to a literary temperament. It absorbed the culture of all New England, with its writers like Hawthorne, Julia

Ward Howe, William Dean Howells, Marion Crawford, and others. From other adjoining States came such modern soldiers as Lieutenant General Nelson A. Miles, of old warrior ancestry, and scientists and women novelists. New England abounds in artists, portrait painters, of which John Sargent is the leader, landscape and sea painters. To Boston they all went, from Boston their fame spread, and among them they established an American culture that has been the special energy of educational force in the country.

The Bostonians of the days when we were all striving for good grammar and good manners, perpetually wore spectacles, because reading was his or her whole existence. The rest of the country acknowledged Boston's academic temperament.

### THE FIGHTING PUNCH OF NEW ENGLAND

SINCE the war Boston has explained the other side of her superior quality, she has reverted to the standards of the premier character that set sail on the memorable trans-Atlantic liner, the "Mayflower." The muscular calves of these prosperous blue stockings were the hardened flesh of fighting men. The Puritan gray-gowned women who went ashore on Plymouth rock were no simpering philanderers, no pampered beauties of an idle British Court, they had in them a suppressed force of the Cromwellian soul.

The "Hub" of the great American wheel of liberty has been strong and soundly made, holding in its unique personality the fundamental instincts of independence, thrift, and courage, to which the American Nation is now returning.

Boston is still the home soil of the great sons of our National affairs. In its quiet, studious temperament lies the thrill of such men as John Hancock, a thrill which in Boston today is reawakened in such personalities as the late Congressman Gardner, who died in uniform; of Senator Lodge, the incarnation of Boston culture, tingling with the Boston fighting blood; of Samuel W. McCall, its present war-Governor.

To its firm set caste in literature and thrift is being added the fighting punch of New England.

# JUDICIAL REVIEW IN CUSTOMS TAXATION

## America's Customs Administrative Court

[The Board of United States General Appraisers]

By GEORGE STEWART BROWN

THIS is an account of a branch of the Government service whose existence is known to comparatively few people in the United States.

The Board of United States General Appraisers performs the functions of a court created to hear and decide controversies arising between the Government and the citizens who import foreign merchandise. There is no limitation on the amount involved in this litigation. The humblest importer of a little parcel post package, the sojourner in foreign lands who has a controversy with the officials, concerning the assessment of his excess baggage or concerning his baggage exemption, may resort to this forum to compel the return of money unlawfully exacted, as freely as the richest merchant with a claim running into the millions for an illegal classification.

The Board's jurisdiction covers the entire continental United States in addition to Alaska, Hawaii and Porto Rico. Although the cases coming before the Board often involve claims for refund running into millions of dollars and sometimes, as did the wood pulp and American bottoms cases, involve interesting and important questions of international law and the construction of treaties; the existence of the Board and its functions and duties are practically unknown

to the legal profession, except to those who make a specialty of "customs practise."

The principal trial rooms and the clerk's offices are located at 641 Washington Street, New York City, for the reason that a large percentage of the total importations are made at that port. Regular dockets are held at stated terms each year at all the important cities in the country, and upon request a hearing can be had at practically any place which may be convenient to the importer. In addition to the seaboard cities, such as New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Newport News, Tampa, New Orleans and Galveston, and on the Pacific Coast, Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles, regular terms are held and dockets heard at such inland cities as Buffalo, Cleveland, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis, etc.

Under the American system an importer at an inland city like Cincinnati may actually import merchandise at Baltimore, Boston, or Galveston, and instead of making entry at the seaboard, he may place the merchandise in a bonded carrier and formally make entry in the customs district where he resides. At the latter place then the decisions of the collector and the local appraiser take place, complaint in the form of protest or appeal is made and the trial of the appraisement or classification case is had nearby.

Thus every importer, no matter where he resides, may have a hearing near where he lives, and where his expert or trade witnesses are readily accessible. Unless attacked for jurisdictional defects, which is rare, the Board's decisions on protested valuations, technically known as reappraisements, from which the body gets its name, are final.

### JUDGMENT MAY WIPE OUT ALL PROFIT

THESE valuation cases frequently involve large sums of money and with the penalties incident thereto the judgment may wipe out for the importer the profit from the sale of the goods whose value under an ad valorem rate is in contest.

Moreover, if the advance over the entered value is sus-

tained at more than 75 per cent, the decision may involve the goods in forfeiture proceedings and perhaps lead up to criminal action against the merchant himself. In valuation cases the appeal may be either by the Government or by the importer from the action of the administrative official who appraises the value in the first instance, and who is known as the local appraiser.

The second phase of the Board's jurisdiction consists in hearing appeals from the decisions of another administrative officer, the collector of customs, in fixing the rate and amount of duty which is taken at the custom house. This is called the classification side, but it covers many other matters where administrative action, not dealing with classification *per se,* fixes the rate and amount of duty as assessed by the collector in his liquidation, and from which, therefore, protest also lies.

For instance, if the collector's decision came about by reason of a regulation passed by the Secretary of the Treasury under his general authority to pass reasonable regulations to carry out the law, the legality of such regulation can be tested on protest and appeal from the collector's decision to the Board of General Appraisers.[1] Or, again, if an appraisement by a local appraiser or a reappraisement by the Board of reappraisement appeals is illegal for any jurisdictional defect, its legality may be attacked on protest and appeal to the Board from the decision of the collector who must adopt such appraised value in his liquidation.[2]

Among the ancient conventional legal fictions is the fiction that the State cannot be sued. If the State commits a wrong for which there would be legal redress between private parties there is no legal redress against the State itself, except by its own voluntary permission. This idea comes from the doctrine of the infallibility of the monarch.

While the Supreme Court[3] has held that the maxim, "The King can do no wrong," has no place in our system

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[1] Conkey's case, G. A., 7668 (28 Treas., Dec., 82). Affd., 6 C. A. R. 487. Goodsell's case, G. A. 3880 (T. D., 18078). Affd., 91 Fed. 519.

[2] United States v. Passavant (169 U. S. 16.)

[3] (Langford vs. U. S., 101 U. S., 341.)

of government, nevertheless, the State itself cannot be sued directly without the authority of a statute authorizing such remedy.

In other words, if all the people acting collectively through the State retain or take money or property to which they are not entitled from one of their number, he has no redress at law to recover it unless by special permission of the State. Perhaps because, as applied to tax matters where the necessity of a remedy is so apparent, it would in effect be dishonest for the State to withhold such judicial remedy, and in such circumstances illegally keep the citizen's money, an indirect remedy was evolved by the courts by judicial construction without any statutory authority therefor.

It was early held that there was a remedy at common law against the tax collector for assessing an erroneous amount or rate of tax, on the theory that the collector, when he made a mistake, went outside the law and became personally liable for the excess paid by the citizen under protest.[1]

## SITUATION OF CUSTOMS TAXPAYER

AS the Government was bound to protect its collector and reimburse him for any judgment which might thus be recovered against him, the effect of this rule of law was in reality to allow a suit against the Government under another name.

While this rule applies to all forms of taxation, it is peculiarly applicable to customs taxation in the commercial circumstances under which goods are imported. In many forms of taxation the citizen can obtain a judicial review of administrative action increasing the rate or amount of his assessment without paying the tax in advance. In the case of tariff taxation he must pay his tax in advance, and if he does not thereafter obtain a judicial review he is left to the mercy of the administrative officials and their interpretation of the law and facts; in effect, a government of men, not of law.

Imported merchandise is either sold in advance or con-

[1] (Elliott vs. Swartwout, 10 Peters, 137; Bend vs. Hoyt, 13 Peters, 263.)

tracted for in advance, or brought in to satisfy the demand of an existing market for the particular class of goods, and must be promptly delivered or promptly sold. The exigencies of the government revenue require that duty must be paid in the first instance at whatever rate and amount the administrative officials demand. These administrative officials, acting with proper caution (as they should) so as to avoid any erroneous construction of law or mistake of fact, which might result in a loss of revenue, must necessarily resolve every doubt in favor of the government and demand the highest rate and amount of duty. That is not only their justification and their right, but their duty as well. This the citizen must, perforce, pay in order to get his goods to market and any question of law or disputed fact, of necessity, be postponed for subsequent judicial inquiry to determine whether or not there should be a refund of excess payment.

Of all the many varieties of governmental action committed to the executive branches of the government, taxation is the one as to which little or no discretion is or ought to be confided to the judgment of the administrative officials. Our tax laws never direct the executive authority to levy or not to levy a particular sum of money or to determine the individuals or classes, or the property or classes of property, or activities upon which the burden shall fall. The delegation of such discretion would probably be unconstitutional in the United States under our doctrine of the division of powers and would be obnoxious as destructive of individual freedom under any form of constitutional government.

Yet if, under a particular tax act the executive official administering the same may, without judicial review of his findings of fact or law, determine what the tax object is, he in effect fixes such taxable object and what rate it shall pay, instead of the legislature.

### JUDICIAL REVIEW NECESSARY

AGAIN, the legislature decrees that a house or a tariff article shall pay a proportion of its value in taxes, or a business a certain percentage of an excess profit, or an inheritance a fixed proportion thereof in descending to certain

relations. If an executive officer, vigilant to aid the Treasury, upon the most efficient and best qualified expert advice, conclusively determined the value of the house or tariff article, fixed the method of calculating the excess profit, or ruled upon the legitimacy of a disputed relationship determining the inheritance rate, without any right to the citizen to test the accuracy of such findings by presenting affirmative evidence and by rigid cross-examination of the government witnesses, under the sanctions and protections of a judicial hearing, before a tribunal *independent of executive control;* autocracy of the worst form would inevitably result.

Whatever arguments may be presented upon the claim that executive efficiency may occasionally be advanced by bestowing an absolute discretion upon some officer in making administrative decisions of a certain character, for instance, concerning the health, morals or police of a community, such arguments can never apply to the official act of administrating a tax law, that is, in collecting the taxes from those persons upon whom the legislature, by general rule, has imposed the obligation of financially supporting the State. It may be occasionally considered necessary to commit to a health officer's discretion the compliance with a sanitary regulation concerning, say, the construction of a cow stable to prevent infection in milk or for the combat of disease, or to a building inspector to say whether the owner has made his building safe for use or safe against fire danger. However, even in matters of this kind such discretion, if not subject to judicial review, may be greatly abused. But after the legislature has fixed the class of taxable persons or taxable objects and prescribed the rate and amount of tax to be collected therefrom or thereon, it is plain that the existence of the facts which bring the person or object within the class and the interpretation of the language used by the law-makers in describing the class can never safely be left to the fiat or to the discretion of any executive officer.

A judicial review of such administrative action must of necessity be provided.

INDEPENDENCE OF JUDICIARY

TO be effective, such judicial review must be before a tribunal independent of executive control.

Dr. Frank J. Goodnow, in his "Principles of Constitutional Government," summarizes the chapter on "The Courts in Europe" as follows:

"We may say, then, that one of the fundamental principles of constitutional government, as seen in the law of modern European states, is:

"*First*—The existence of judicial bodies independent in tenure of the executive; which shall,

"*Second*—Apply the law regulating the relations of individuals one with another—usually called the private law—by deciding the cases brought before them; and,

"*Third*—Shall apply in the same manner the law regulating the relations between officers of the government and private individuals—usually called the public or administrative law.

"Whether a formal distinction is made between the private and the administrative law, and whether these two functions are discharged by the same courts, are matters of comparatively little importance. The important thing is that the courts which have these powers shall be independent of the executive. Without such independence it may be said that constitutional government is impossible."

The sole function of the court in a tax case is to decide whether the tax has really been levied or not, whether the legislature has said the citizen before the court has been taxed at all or by the correct amount. To deprive the citizen of the right to have that issue sifted and tested before an *independent* judicial body either by giving him no such appeal or by technicality or expensive procedure rendering such appeal, if nominally given, impracticable in use, is to deprive him of a right so fundamental—the right to show his governmental administrators have illegally taken his money—that without it constitutional liberty is indeed impossible.

INJUSTICE TO CITIZENS MAKES BOLSHEVIKI

WITHOUT such remedy, or if by technicality it becomes too expensive to invoke, *no matter how small his claim,* the citizen will go away disgruntled, considering his government has not dealt honestly by him—the first step toward making him a bad citizen and ultimately a Bolshevik.

Perhaps the best statement of the fundamental principles upon which this jurisdiction is based appears in an opinion by Judge Story in the case of Cary v. Curtis (3 How., 236), from which I quote as follows:

"I know of no power, indeed, of which a free people ought to be more jealous, than of that of levying taxes and duties; and yet if it is to rest with a mere executive functionary of the government absolutely and finally to decide what taxes and duties are leviable under a particular act, without any power of appeal to any judicial tribunal, it seems to me that we have no security whatsoever for the rights of the citizens. And if Congress possess a constitutional authority to vest such summary and final power of interpretation in an executive functionary, I know no other subject within the reach of legislation which may not be exclusively confided in the same way to an executive functionary; nay, to the executive himself."

. . . . . .

". . . what ground is there to suppose that Congress could intend to take away so important and valuable a remedy and leave our citizens utterly without any adequate protection?"

. . . . . .

"Where then is the remedy which is supposed to exist? It is an appeal to the Secretary of the Treasury for a return of the money, if in his opinion it ought to be returned, and not otherwise. No court, no jury, nay, not even the ordinary rules of evidence, are to pass between that officer and the injured claimant, to try his rights or to secure him adequate redress. Assuming that the Secretary of the Treasury will always be disposed to do what he deems to be right in the exercise of his discretion, and that he possesses all the quali-

fications requisite to perform this duty, among the other complicated duties of his office—a presumption which I am in no manner disposed to question—still it removes not a single objection. It is, after all, a substitution of executive authority and discretion for judicial remedies. Nor should it be disguised that upon so complicated a subject as the nature and character of articles made subject to duties, grave controversies must always exist (as they have always hitherto existed) as to the category within which particular fabrics and articles are to be classed. The line of discrimination between fabrics and articles approaching near to each other in quality, or component materials, or commercial denominations, is often very nice and difficult, and sometimes exceedingly obscure. It is the very case, therefore, which is fit for judicial inquiry and decision," . . .

. . . . . .

"Besides, we all know that, in all revenue cases, it is the constant practice of the Secretary of the Treasury to give written instructions to the various collectors of the customs as to what duties are to be collected under particular revenue laws, and what, in his judgment, is the proper interpretation of those laws. I will venture to assert that, in nineteen cases out of twenty of doubtful interpretation of any such laws, the collector never acts without the express instructions of the Secretary of the Treasury. So that in most, if not in all cases where a controversy arises, the Secretary of the Treasury has already pronounced his own judgment. Of what use then, practically speaking, is the appeal to him, since he has already given his decision? Further, it is well known, and the annals of this court as well as those of the other courts of the United States establish in the fullest manner, that the interpretations so given by the Secretary of the Treasury have, in many instances, differed widely from those of the courts. The Constitution looks to the courts as the final interpreters of the laws. Yet the opinion maintained by my brethren does, in effect, vest such interpretation exclusively in that officer."

"These considerations have led me to the conclusion

that it never could be the intention of Congress to pass any statute, by which the courts of the United States, as well as the State courts, should be excluded from all judicial power in the interpretation of the revenue laws, and that it should be exclusively confided to an executive functionary finally to interpret and execute them—a power which must press severely upon the citizens, however discreetly exercised, and which deeply involves their constitutional rights, privileges and liberties. The same considerations force me, in all cases of doubtful or ambiguous language admitting of different interpretations, to cling to that which should least trench upon those rights, privileges and liberties, and *a' fortiori* to adopt that which would be in general harmony with our whole system of government."

While this was a dissenting opinion, the majority of the Court having held that a rider in an appropriation bill requiring collectors to turn over to the treasury money received on protested classifications, had destroyed the common law remedy, the Congress immediately by a special declaratory statute made Judge Story's opinion the law of the land, before the ink was dry on his pen, expressly enacting therein that nothing in the appropriation rider should be construed to destroy the common law remedy by suit against the collector.[1]

As late as 1901, in a case where the merchandise upon which duties were levied was not technically imported and where, therefore, under the customs administrative act as it then stood no protest and appeal lay to the Board of General Appraisers, the Supreme Court reaffirmed and reasserted the right to sue the collector at common law citing Elliott v. Swartwout, and referring to the act of Congress where by *legislative construction of the act of* 1839, following Cary v. Curtis, the common law remedy was restored.[2]

The act of June 30, 1864, required the importer to first appeal from the collector's decision to the Secretary of the Treasury. If the Secretary affirmed the collector's ruling the suit against the collector to test the legality of the official action could then be instituted.

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[1] Act of Feb. 26, 1845 (5 Stat. at Large, chap. XXII.)
[2] (DeLima vs. Bidwell, 182 U. S. 1, pages 177-178.)

## PRESIDENT M'KINLEY'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE SCIENCE OF LAW

TWENTY-EIGHT years ago (June 10, 1890)[3] the so-called Customs Administrative Act was passed. It is William McKinley's contribution to the science of the law.

The act was, in the first place, an administrative act, that is, it codified and coordinated the rules of law for guiding the administrative management of the customs, and secondly, established a new judicial remedy for the litigation of customs cases.

It was thus at one and the same time a customs administrative act and a customs practise act. It enlarged the remedy, abolished court costs, dispensed with a jury trial and the necessity for common law pleadings, and simplified and expedited the procedure, so that the suitor with a few dollars at issue could obtain relief as easily as the large importer, without being compelled to even employ a lawyer, by appearing at a hearing at or near his home port and presenting the facts upon which he based his claim.

The *nisi prius* tribunal created to administer the new remedy was styled the Board of United States General Appraisers—a kind of people's court—to act in the first instance upon classification cases and to be the final court of appraisement. The courts upon appeal early decided that the phraseology of the act implied a " court " which should decide classification cases upon the evidence before it with all the legal sanctions and protections of a judicial hearing.[1]

By a series of statutory enactments, reappraisement hearings have also gradually evolved into a judicial procedure, with parties, subject matter, and the form of a court trial.[2]

Subsection 12 of section 28 of the act of August 5, 1909,

[3] United States v. Ranlett (172 U. S., p. 145.)
" The remedies provided by the act of June 10, 1890, furnish the equivalent for the action against the collector, which was originally the remedy for an illegal exaction of duties."

[1] In re Blankensteyn, 56 Fed. 474; Marine vs. Lyon, 65 Fed. 992; Stone vs. Whitridge, 129 Fed. 33; U. S. vs. Schwartz, 3 C. A. R. 24, 32; U. S. vs. Kurtz, 5 C. A. R. 144.

[2] Par. M, section III, act of Oct. 3, 1913.

after providing that the members of the Board shall hold office during good behavior, subject to removal by the President for neglect of duty, malfeasance in office, or inefficiency, and for no other cause, further provides that the Board shall have and possess all the powers of a circuit court of the United States in preserving order, compelling the attendance of witnesses, and the production of evidence, and in punishing for contempt.

An appeal in classification cases now lies to the United States Court of Customs Appeals, an appellate tribunal, established for the express purpose of hearing appeals from the Board of General Appraisers, consisting of five members sitting at the National Capital. Certiorari to the Supreme Court may be resorted to in cases where a constitutional question is raised, or the construction of a treaty is involved, or where the Attorney General certifies before decision of the Court of Customs Appeals that the importance of the subject requires review of the decision by the Supreme Court.

### THE CONTINENTAL VERSUS THE AMERICAN MIND

THE Continental mind works differently from the Anglo-Saxon mind. The development of their respective systems of administrative law is a good illustration of the difference.

The Continental mind worked out logically on principle the necessity of a judicial review of administrative action to protect the liberty of the citizen, while the Englishman and the American merely invented remedies in piece-meal, and more or less imperfectly, as the necessity or the popular demand for some particular remedy arose.

So we find in France and some of the smaller Continental countries a well-defined plan with a logically developed system; sometimes through special administrative courts created for the purpose, a special forum having a wide and comprehensive jurisdiction for the remedy of individual wrongs arising from executive action.

While in England and America the ordinary courts have been given, in a limited class of subjects, a special jurisdiction

to meet the particular public demand for such reform, along some particular line where the abuse from the absence of the remedy was flagrant, or the courts themselves have from sheer necessity, without statutory authority, sustained the right to sue the tax collector at common law, or applied the original common law writs of mandamus and prohibition.

Where special tribunals like the Board of General Appraisers, or the Court of Customs Appeals, or the Court of Claims, have been created their jurisdiction has usually been of a special and limited character to cover some particular class of subjects.

Under the common law writs, mandamus, prohibition and the writ of right, all of which were invented or adopted by the English courts to give some judicial review of the legality of the acts of public officers, as a rule, the remedy is limited to the correction of errors of law and does not include errors of fact. Moreover, if a discretion is expressly confided by the terms of the law to the official, such discretion can not be reviewed by the court on such writs, but the court can only correct an abuse of discretion. Further, as a rule, such writs lie not as a matter of absolute right, but issue in the sound discretion of the court.

Consequently, a judicial review by means of such writs, and the kindred writ of injunction, is not always fully effective. To procure a full, adequate and complete remedy, an appeal covering all questions of law and fact involved in the decision complained of must be provided by statute, of which, I suppose, the appeal provided by the customs administrative act is probably the best particular example.

### FRENCH ADMINISTRATIVE LAW

LAFERRIÉRE, in his "Traité de la Jurisdiction Administrative et des Recours Contentieux," states the general principle upon which the jurisdiction of the French courts over certain administrative contests is founded, as follows (Vol. 1, page 6, par. 2) (Free translation):

"It results that with resistance set up in opposition to the acts of the administration or an act of public authority

founded on a right which the administration may have disregarded, upon an error of fact or of law which it may have committed in its relations with the citizen, . . . and which may have resulted in the violation or erroneous application of the law or of an existing right. If the injured party thinks himself justified in opposing his individual right to the right invoked by the administration, there is a subject matter for contest, for litigation; an administrative contest is immediately created by the conflicting claims; judicial action is necessary to resolve the difficulty. In other words, the offended interest involves only the idea of utility, of expediency, of policy, whereas the disregarded right involves the idea of justice, of legal sanction, of a judicial determination. In the first case, the injured party can only beg and complain; in the second, he can require verification of his right and demand that it be respected."

It is upon the basis of such theoretical definitions as this that the Continental jurisdiction appears to have been worked out. Speaking of the French system, in " Principles of Constitutional Government," Dr. Goodnow says (page 240): " The French system has proved itself to be more effective in the protection of the individual, not only because of the law which the administrative courts have developed, but also because of the more simple and less expensive remedies which have been provided. Much of the procedure in the Anglo-American courts is extremely technical, and on that account expensive, because the litigant must retain the services of a highly paid lawyer. Most of the remedies provided by the French law are simple and a lawyer's services are often not required."

In England the common law action against the collector is distinctly recognized.[1] Decisions of customs cases brought to procure a refund of excessive duties appear in many of the law reports in the British Colonies.

Our own statutes relating to the Philippine Islands provide for a court review there, and a number of customs cases have been decided by the Philippine Supreme Court.

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[1] (39 and 40 Victoria, Ch. 36, sec. 34.)

In the preservation of "equality before the law" the right to go before a judicial tribunal independent of the executive and there obtain relief from the illegal levy of a tax by the administrative official is fundamental.

# TO MY COUNTRY

By MARGUERITE WILKINSON

BEAMS from your forest built my little home,
And stones from your deep quarries flagged my hearth;
Your streams have rippled swiftly in my blood,
Your fertile acres made my flesh for me,
And your clean-blowing winds have been my breath.
Your prophets saw the visions of my youth,
The dreams you gave have been my dearest dreams,
And you have been the mother of my soul.

Therefore, my country, take again at need
Your excellent gifts, home, hearth, and flesh and blood,
Young dreams and all the good I am or have,
That all your later children may have peace
In little homes built of your wood and stone
And warmed and lighted by the love of man!

# WHO'S SHE IN WAR WORK

By ANNE EMERSON

BUMPER crops of eager faced girls, resolute women, anxious mothers, are daily blowing into Washington, D. C., the erstwhile drowsy capital town of the U. S. A. They separate themselves quickly into groups: telephone operators, stenographers, typists, office assistants—what not—all responding gloriously to the nation's literature of help-wanted. Where to lay their heads, to feed their bodies, and to amuse their idle moments is a literally burning question these sun-baked Washington days and heat-racking nights. Mrs. Gifford Pinchot has grappled with the question as chairman of the Woman's Trade Union League, and partly solved it by enlisting the aid of the women whose big homes would ordinarily be closed for the summer. Her own home, on Rhode Island Avenue, houses at least ten war girls, and all the Cabinet women are mothering the modern Jeanne D'Arcs who have responded to the Nation's call. Four hundred and fifty thousand women have been placed in war service by the Government, and Washington has taken its full quota.

In New York the war boys—embryonic fighters—are getting attention.

The problem of the "boys" is not one of housing as much as of food. So that these boys may eat, Mrs. Donn Barber, Chairman of the Canteen Service of the National League for Woman's Service, has enrolled fifteen hundred workers. Mrs. Barber has tabulated that her canteen service feeds at least ten thousand soldiers a day. On an emergency call from the Red Cross, 17,000 sandwiches were made, two women making four hundred and twenty-five in an hour. Mrs. Barber accepts no volunteer who is not willing to answer the emergency call regardless of all other plans.

"And I find that the best workers are those who never talk," Mrs. Barber said, by way of ending her conversation.

Six hundred and fifty thousand dollars in relief supplies

for a year is a large sum for one organization to spend, but that is the total paid out by the War Relief Committee of the Vacation Association of New York City, of which Miss Gertrude Robinson Smith is the President and Treasurer. The money has gone for food, clothes, and hospital supplies for soldiers and their dependants. One branch of the work of this particular War Relief is to provide work for women who have lost their positions because of the war, paying them $1.75 for a day's work and finding them other positions in the meantime.

In a fashionable New York City neighborhood there is an officers' club, open for the use of any officer staying in the metropolis. It is the gift of Mrs. Thomas Fortune Ryan. Mrs. Ryan equipped the house and spends part of each day as hostess, insisting that it is a home for the "boys" and not a club in the strict sense of the word.

Another "big" house in New York which has been turned over to war work is Mrs. Whitelaw Reid's home, which is used as a training centre for the New York County Chapter of the Red Cross. Here workers who are "going over" are taught first aid, dietetics, etc.

A third house is the John D. Rockefeller residence, which Mr. Rockefeller equipped with sewing machines, cutting machine, work tables, special lighting for workers, and an electric kitchen where luncheons can be prepared. This house he gave to two auxiliaries of the Red Cross, headed by his daughter-in-law, Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

The work of the women is not limited to the big cities, however, for President Wilson's "inner line" is being held firm by the women of the farming communities as well as those in the great metropolises.

Mrs. Oliver Harriman is generally conceded to be the leading "war worker" in Westchester County, New York State. She organized the women for the military census, and since has given all of her time to the various methods whereby garden truck can be kept for winter use. She is very active in behalf of the small war gardens, actually keeping such a garden herself.

Mrs. Frank Vanderlip is another woman who is active in the "back to the land" movement. She is one of the officers of a National Land Army movement, and also gives her attention to the War Saving Stamps.

Clara Sears Taylor was one of the best known newspaper women in the West when the United States entered the war. She was selected to head the work of the Woman's Division of the Committee of Public Information. She runs her department like a newspaper office, telling the women of one section of America what women of another portion of the country are doing to win the war. Practically every woman in the United States is on Mrs. Taylor's staff, for individually, or through their war organizations, she is in constant touch with the women in every town in the country.

A commission from the United States, requiring that she sing under the direction of the Government for the rest of the year, is Mme. Schumann-Heink's war order. "I go into my work with a grateful heart that I can do my bit," she said when the commission was given her. "I have four sons serving the country, and although singing is not work for me, I am glad to do what I can."

Mme. Schumann-Heink will sing for the Army, Navy, Red Cross, Liberty Loans, or any other war charity the department designates.

### AMERICAN WOMEN "OVER THERE"

NOT all of the war workers are safely situated in America. The number of women serving in France has not been computed, but it reaches many thousands.

The title, "the most prominent woman in Paris," belongs to an American woman, for while the former Miss Clara Longworth, of Ohio, as the wife of Comte de Chambrum must now be counted a citizen of France, she is essentially an American. The Comte de Chambrum, like his famous great-grandfather, Lafayette, is essentially a man of war, holding the title of Lieutenant-Colonel. His wife has been active in war relief since August, 1914, working in Paris in spite of air raids, long-range guns, and war-time discom-

forts. Now that the American soldiers are in evidence the former Miss Longworth has doubled her war work, for she is very jealous of the care offered to the American boys. They must have the best.

Mrs. Maria Herron, sister-in-law of ex-President Taft, is also in Paris, doing canteen work, and Madame de Bonand, who was Miss Ann Harrison of Cincinnati, is an enthusiastic hospital worker, having turned her home over to the Military Hospital and received a decoration from the Ministry of War for her exceptional services.

Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., has been acting as a waitress at the Officers' Club of the Y. M. C. A. Mrs. E. H. Sothern, better known as Julia Marlowe, has been planning theatres for the boys on furlough. Another member of the theatrical profession, Miss Elsie Janis, has won a permanent place in the hearts of the enlisted men for her performances practically under fire. Miss Janis is tireless, and officers and men alike are cheered by her songs and dances.

Mrs. J. Borden Harriman is working in uniform, as she is one of the heads of the Red Cross Motor Corps. She returned to America to talk for the Red Cross. At one of the meetings in which she was asked to discuss one or two vital principles of her work, Mrs. Harriman mounted the platform and laughingly apologized to the audience for the lack of preparation on her subject. "I come," she said, "in what in Europe they call true American fashion, 'full of hope and unpreparedness.'"

In speaking of the work of the American girls at the front, Mrs. Harriman told the following incident:

"One group of 19 American girls, not trained nurses, has been working in a hospital in the territory now held by the British, under the direction of 28 French doctors," she said. "These girls, although not nurses, have been trained by the doctors themselves and know exactly what is expected of them. They are a part of the military organization of the French Third Army, and now that the Army has gone to Italy they have gone with it. When you hear people say that there are too many American women in France you just

contradict it. It isn't so. The Red Cross needs more women, women who are strong and healthy and can stand the hardships."

Some other women "over there" are Miss Anne Morgan, Mrs. Anne Dike, Mrs. Nina Duryea and Miss Winifred Holt.

Miss Morgan's reconstruction work has been recognized and praised by the French and American Governments, and in her labors Mrs. Anne Dike has taken an active part. The latest German drive has ruined much of the reconstruction of French territory accomplished by these women, but they are going ahead undaunted, planting fresh crops and getting ready for a great harvest.

Miss Winifred Holt, daughter of Henry Holt, the publisher, was, before the war, noted for her interest in the Association for the Blind. In the fall of 1914 she organized the American Committee for Men Blinded in Battle, and has spent all of her time in France, teaching workers to train blinded men so that they may work and not be dependent on the Government for maintenance.

Mrs. Duryea, like Miss Morgan, is at the head of a large sector of reconquered land. With a number of American women she has been rebuilding villages, planting crops and helping the people to regain a state of normal existence. Like Miss Morgan, Mrs. Duryea has been decorated for her labors.

# THE FINANCIAL SITUATION

By W. S. COUSINS

GRATIFYING reports of the remarkable ease with which the people and business interests of the country just completed the payment into the Federal Treasury a sum of $3,000,000,000 for income and profits taxes are accompanied with grave concern when it must be realized that much more than twice that amount must be collected under the provisions of the tax law which will be written on the books before adjournment of the present session of Congress.

All records of the past must sink into insignificance in comparison with the requirements of the year ahead of us, during which the estimated "Extraordinary Expenses" of the Government for war purposes will be over $20,000,000,000, of which it is proposed to raise $8,000,000,000 by direct tax.

It is to be expected that a great deal of gratuitous advice and comment will be thrown in the direction of Congress by self-styled economic experts and theorists, and that it will be impossible to adopt any large measure of these valuabe offerings. A few principles should, however, guide our Congressional leaders in making up the new schedules, and these may be thus briefly outlined:

First: Production of war goods must be stimulated and not retarded by the increased tax.

Second: Discrimination should be made between "Excess profits," as such, and "Excess war profits"; and excessive burdens must not be laid upon business enterprises which function in times of peace as well as in war.

Third: As suggested by President Wilson, many of the serious economic errors contained in the last tax law must be eliminated from the new measure. The absurd suggestion that inasmuch as about double the amount will be required

next year as in the past twelve months, existing taxes should be multiplied by two, must be discarded. A great deal of risk is attached to all business, particularly with all the uncertainties which surround it at the present time. Profits are largely on paper and unrealizable, and often disappear in later transactions. Taxation of profits applies rigidly and uniformly to every business, but all are not affected alike by the enforced withdrawal of funds, and as taxes are increased in unusual degree there is more danger that they may interfere with industries which need support and development at this time. Loans are a more flexible means of raising money, and if they enable the business community to adjust the burden so as to carry it more easily, the interest charge is a minor consideration.

Perhaps a few observations as to the effect of last year's tax on business will not be amiss. It will be remembered that during the progress of the third Liberty Loan Campaign many of the large corporations, which had been extremely liberal in their subscriptions to the first two issues, were unable to accord much support to the third loan, because of the necessity to conserve all their resources in preparation for the payment of their taxes. For the same reason other large concerns were compelled to resort to the loan market at very stiff rates in order to provide "Working Capital" sufficient to keep going. Still others have intimated that a further increase in tax rates will mean either increased borrowing or insolvency.

### PRODUCTION THE IMPORTANT THING

WHAT the Government most desires is not money, but production. Taxes which retard production are unwise and uneconomic, and in the last analysis defeat their own aim.

Latest reports from Washington as to the present plans of the Ways and Means Committee include a tax of 75 per cent. on pure war profits, which will be arrived at through the English system of imposing such levies. The normal profit will be obtained by taking the average profit during the

five pre-war years, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913. All profits over this average will be subject to a tax of 75 per cent.

Investigation has shown that 150 of the large corporations in the United States now paying $500,000,000 on the basis of capitalization would escape without any appreciable taxation if the English system alone were followed. In the years preceding the war such concerns as the Ford Motor Company and the Standard Oil Company, Representative Claude Kitchin said, had greater profits than in the years of the war and greater profits than they were enjoying now by reason of price fixing imposed by the Government.

To overcome this the committee has decided to follow some such scheme as that proposed by Secretary McAdoo, namely, the imposition of two plans of taxation, one based on capitalization and the other on war profits, giving the Government the option of imposing the higher tax.

### WILL WE HAVE A CONSUMPTION TAX?

THE indirect as opposed to the direct method of taxation has been proved by almost every nation to be an advantageous means of deriving extraordinary social revenue. A tax on consumption, no matter what sociologic and theoretical objections there may be to it, doesn't hurt as much as a direct tax. The necessaries of existence have to be consumed by all the people. The luxuries of life, for which we are already being taxed, are still ours as they can be afforded. It has been a good year for the theatres in spite of the tax on the tickets, and we still see our streets choked with automobiles. A slight taxation of necessities can be carried as easily as that on luxuries in view of present conditions of labor in America.

It is reasonable to at least consider this form of taxation, that on consumption, which other countries have found successful, whose advantages economists have taught us for years, and which we have not completely applied as a source of revenue in our present crisis. The consumption tax is paid with greater ease than any other because of the individual psychology that enters into it. It is difficult for the consumer to calculate just how much excess he does pay;

the flavor of the food, or the pleasure of a luxury for the moment overbalances the thought of the cost. His income tax is before him on his desk in black, unerasable figures, but it is not so with the consumption tax. The income tax must be paid on a certain date, but one pays the consumption tax when one wishes or not at all. As a matter of fact, it works out that one pays it daily and does not feel it very much because the unit of it is so small.

There is a certain amount of national security in such a method of indirect taxation. It has been said that a most unpopular government can collect a large revenue with ease and certainty through the tithes of a reasonable tax on consumption. We are all more or less grown up children, restless under authority, and when a government by means of a direct tax says, "You must pay this amount," we unconsciously rebel, no matter how fundamentally patriotic we are. But our tax on coffee or tea is laid instinctively at the doors of hard times; we don't blame a government for it.

Any system of taxation that shifts the burden of the taxes to the shoulders of the few, no matter how broad those shoulders may be, is bound to cripple in the end. There are popularly supposed to be three sources of revenue upon which to draw during the coming year: profits, including excess and war profits, income and luxuries, taxing the latter being our only plan of putting the consumption tax into practice. It is a mooted question if a tax on luxuries will ever be a mine of great financial resource. A tax upon anything has the unalterable effect of reducing the currency of that thing as much as to render the tax inactive; and by its very definition a luxury is the exceptional thing, the product that we do not need. We of course welcome the luxury tax for what it is worth, but it can hardly be depended upon to produce an increasingly vast revenue. It is rather a premium on thrift.

### WAR STOCKS

THE attention of conservative investors has, since the entry of this country into the war, been directed to the munitions and airplane stocks. Despite the heavy taxes

which these companies will be called upon to pay, it is still possible to calculate a fair margin of profit on the operation of the concerns represented by these securities. At the present time Curtiss Aeroplane and the Wright-Martin Aircraft, in the airplane group, and Aetna Explosives, in the munitions group, are bidding for popular favor.

Wright-Martin already has orders on its books aggregating between $60,000,000 and $80,000,000, and it is stated on the authority of one of the high officials of the company that Wright-Martin has an unlimited order from the United States Government to turn out all the motors it can manufacture or can cause to be manufactured under sub-contracts throughout the period of the war.

On the present scale of operations it is expected that dividends can be paid on the common stock after making allowance for the preferred, but without making allowance for excess profit taxes.

With an output of forty motors, the yearly business will amount to over $93,000,000, which on a 10-per-cent.-profit basis is equal to $10 a share on the common stock, not including $2 a share from royalties.

When peace comes the Government will pay for all the inventories on hand when it withdraws its open order. It intends to enter the tractor industry after the war.

From the standpoint of finances, Wright-Martin is in an exceptional position. For purposes of calculation it is assumed that the capitalization of the company has a par of $10,000,000, of which $5,000,000 represents the preferred stock and $5,000,000 the common stock. Of this about $3,000,000 has been invested in the plant, which is still practically new. The balance is represented by cash or moneys due from the United States Government. In this calculation it must be borne in mind that no value is placed on good will, patents or other items which form a large portion of the company's stock in trade.

The Curtiss Aeroplane and Motor Corporation was responsible for about 70 per cent. of the aeroplanes manufactured in the United States in 1917. It will build at least

60 per cent. of the aeroplanes in 1918. At present it is doing 80 per cent. of the business, and is assured of capacity business, and so long as the war lasts, earnings are bound to be on a large scale. Assuming that the war will last another two years, it is claimed that profits and increased asset value will be fully equal to present market quotations. The Curtiss company's control lies with the Willys-Overland Co., and in view of their present strong organization, and the new North Elmwood plant at Buffalo, which would make an excellent assembly plant, it is natural to assume that with all the Willys' varied interests the plants will be profitably employed in after war business.

Aetna Explosives Company has been more successful in the production of munitions than in the harmonious operation of its family affairs. The company's plants are booked ahead for many months with orders from the United States and France, the filling of which requires capacity operations of all the military explosive plants, and its present basis of earnings is said to be very satisfactory.

The big motive power back of Aetna Explosives stock is the certainty of a long war and reasonable assurance that the conflicting interests which are fighting for control of the company will soon get together.

After the war Aetna is assured of a profitable business in its chemical department devoted to the manufacture of coal-tar products in addition to the regular output of munitions, which is certain to continue in good volume in peace times to supply the demands of this Government as well as foreign governments.

Midvale Steel is now the largest rifle producer in the United States. It is turning out approximately 45,000 rifles a week. This is approximately 60 per cent. of our present weekly production of 74,000 rifles.

At the opening of Spring, Midvale's daily rifle production at the Remington plant was about 4,000 rifles a day. Before Summer is well under way it will probably have doubled the Spring output.

Midvale is guaranteed a stipulated profit by the Govern-

ment in addition to reimbursement for all special expenditures and will consequently have no such terrific depreciation charge to make on rifle account as it set up in 1917.

Earnings of Midvale thus far this quarter have been running a trifle ahead of the first three months, or at rate of better than $4 a share quarterly on the outstanding 2,000,000 shares.

### CONSOLIDATING EXPRESS COMPANIES

DIRECTOR-GENERAL M'ADOO'S order consolidating the express companies was to have been expected. There is no line of activity in which there is greater duplication of service than in the express business. Obviously, if Government operation of railroads would work beneficially through the concentration of traffic on the shortest lines between two points, this concentration would work with equal advantage in the express business. With the establishment of the parcels post, the scope of the express business was very seriously reduced, and all the companies found it necessary to seek new fields and adopt new methods to protect their interests.

### BONDS AND CORPORATE FINANCING

SECRETARY M'ADOO has suggested as a further stimulus to the maintenance of the market price of Liberty bonds that these securities be exempt from the higher schedules of taxation which will be necessary in the revised tax legislation. This will bring the Government war bonds more nearly on a level with municipals and similar tax-exempt securities and increase their market value when in possession of investors of modest standing.

It will, however, more than likely have the effect of causing a further depreciation in the market for bonds which do not enjoy this partial exemption from war taxes, which would then be more desirable as investments by investors not subject to the surtax. The fact must not be lost sight of that many corporations will continually be in the market for new capital, and to the extent that their securities are subject to

higher and higher taxes will they be compelled to pay higher and higher interest rates for borrowed money.

It has proved difficult enough to provide funds needed by corporations with the highest credit standing after their plans for new financing have been approved by the Capital Issues Committee at Washington, and many would-be borrowers have found it impossible to meet the requirements of those who are seeking the best possible avenues of investment for their funds. War-time money rates are considerably higher than those which prevailed a few years ago, as many specific cases will illustrate. Just now a syndicate of bankers is offering an issue of Armour & Co. convertible bonds to net the investor 7.15 per cent.; before the war such bonds were in good demand on a 4.60 basis. Corporations are now finding that after the investor has been satisfied and the expenses of issuance defrayed, money is now costing nearer 8 per cent. than 6.

# New Books

By CHARLES FRANCIS REED

*War Narratives*

It is a notable fact that some of the best war material has been written at random, at moments when the writer had no thought that his hurriedly written words would ever be offered to an insatiable public, who never seems to get enough "war stuff." Of course, the reason for the superiority of such letters is easily understood, for being written on the spur of the moment, they are the direct results of the spirit of the moment, the spirit that mirrors the impulses of the heart.

All this is apropos of the fact that Curtis Wheeler, a second lieutenant of the Field Artillery, has offered in a series of Letters[1] to his father some exceptionally fine pictures of France as discovered by the first batches of American fighters to go "over there." It is a small book, and the writer is scarcely more than a boy, yet the morale, the spirit he interprets is admirable and filled with the "win the war" spirit that has made itself so strongly felt during the past few months.

"Keeping Our Fighters Fit"[2] is written for the people "back home." It is by Edward Frank Allen, but written under the supervision of Raymond B. Fosdick, who shortly after our entrance into the war was appointed Chairman of the War and Navy Department's Commissions of Training Camp Activities. Then, too, by the way of added interest, and to give the book a still more official recommendation, President Wilson has an introductory statement.

The volume is a rather familiar recital of the social work at the camps. It is filled with interesting anecdote and gives

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[1] "Letters from an American Soldier to His Father," by Curtis Wheeler. The Bobbs Merrill Co. $0.75 net.

[2] "Keeping Our Fighters Fit," by Edward Frank Allen. The Century Co. $1.25.

figures that are convincing. Better than all, it should prove to the anxious people, who imagine that war has nothing but a note of terror, that building the mental and moral man is equally important with the physical building. It is well illustrated and should bring splendid reassurance and information to every home where there is a boy in uniform.

"Covered with Mud and Glory,"[1] by Georges Le Fond, is the history of a Machine Gun Company in action. It is vividly written, with all the sentiment that a Frenchman can possess. Much of the narrative has such dramatic quality that one might imagine that the author were a dramatist preparing his script for the players. This book should stand out from the great mass of war material because of its gripping sentiment.

Earnest Poole's book, "The Dark People,"[2] will be largely familiar to those admirers of this gifted young man who read his magazine articles after his return from Russia. Mr. Poole is more than ordinarily gifted in the use of words, and his keen observations, his deft picture drawings of conditions as he saw them and as he believes they will ultimately be, makes the volume worth owning, even though the magazines have allowed the reader to become familiar with some of the contents.

Andreas Latzko is an Austrian officer, and that fact is the most significant thing about his commanding book, "Men in War,"[3] for this volume is a tirade against war and a song of hatred against the "fatherland." The series of sketches that make up the volume are pictures, not short stories, though they have a fictional twist that makes them all the more convincing. If there were room for a lengthy discussion of this book it might be reviewed in detail and quotation made, for "Men in War" is revealing. As it is, all that can be done is to recommend these sketches with the highest praise as being worthy from a literary standpoint and because they will show the reader the trend of the Aus-

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[1] "Covered with Mud and Glory," by Georges Le Fond. The Small Maynard Co. $1.50 net.

[2] "The Dark People," by Earnest Poole. The Macmillan Co. $1.50 net.

[3] "Men in War," by Andreas Latzko. Boni and Liveright. $1.50 net.

trian mind, backing up the scattered stories of dissatisfaction that come to us through the daily press.

Hector MacQuarrie, who a short time ago issued a very practical book called "How to Live at the Front," is the author of "Over Here."[1] The volume is a description of war-time America as seen by an English officer. Lieutenant MacQuarrie is a veteran of Ypres, and after a period in various hospitals was sent to the United States as an inspector of production for the British Government. This has enabled him to travel considerably and to meet the real Americans. He likes us, and says so, and he does his telling in a humorous manner. "Over Here" is an entertaining book, a holding up of the mirror so that we may see ourselves as others see us.

Three books from the trenches are "The Brown Brethren,"[2] by Patrick MacGill; "Shell Proof Mack,"[3] by Arthur Mack, and an anonymous volume called "A Temporary Gentleman in France."[4] The MacGill book is probably the best of the three, for the author has the rare knack of penning character sketches that are gripping. The book might be easily called a novel, but the detail is so perfect, the description of the lives of the three men most concerned is so realistic, that it must be called apart from fiction. "The Brown Brethren" is not simply another war book—it is unlike any book of the war that I can remember.

"Shell Proof Mack" got his name because on one occasion he was buried in the mud by one shell and blown out by the next. He is an American boy who joined the British army, and the story of his seventeen months with that army makes a readable narrative. The best part of the third book, "A Temporary Gentleman in France," is that it is written in the form of letters which, when read, sound as though they had been recently penned by a soldier boy who knew what he was writing. They are unstudied and ring true.

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[1] "Over Here," by Hector MacQuarrie. The J. B. Lippincott Co. $1.35 net.

[2] "The Brown Brethren," by Patrick MacGill. The George H. Doran Co. $1.35 net.

[3] "Shellproof Mack," by Arthur Mack. Small, Maynard & Co. $1.35 net.

[4] "A Temporary Gentleman in France," Anonymous. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.50 net.